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TO

GEORGE W. SAMSON, D. D., LL. D.,
EX-PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIAN UNIVERSITY,

AND

MARTIN B. ANDERSON, LL. D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER.

THE ONE, MY PASTOR AND COLLEGE TEACHER, TAUGHT ME THE PRINCIPLES OF
RELIGION AND MORALITY ; THE OTHER, A LOYAL PARISHIONER FOR
TWELVE YEARS, ALWAYS GIVING MORE THAN HE RECEIVED,
INTERESTED ME IN ECONOMIC STUDIES, AND INCITED
ME TO THE MORE FAITHFUL DISCHARGE OF
THE ETHICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE
CHRISTIAN TEACHER.

This Work,

THE FRUIT OF SEED WHICH THE ONE PLANTED AND THE OTHER
HELPED TO MATURE,

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED TO BOTH,

AS A TOKEN

OF MY GRATEFUL FRIENDSHIP.



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P R E F A C E.

FOR years I have had a deepening conviction that true economic principle and right economic action were intimately related to Christian morality. As a result of this conviction, I ventured a series of addresses on social questions before audiences of business men and workmen. Through the courtesy of the "Providence Daily Journal" and the "Providence Evening Telegram," which published in full, and of the "Providence Daily Star" and the "Boston Herald," which published copious extracts, these addresses were widely circulated. At the suggestion of many readers, of various classes, and from various sections of the country, the substance of the discussions is embodied in the present volume.

As I have always written for ears, rather than for eyes, I ask of my reader the privilege of talking with him in the following chapters. Such a familiar method will be, at least, easier for me—perhaps not without added interest for him.

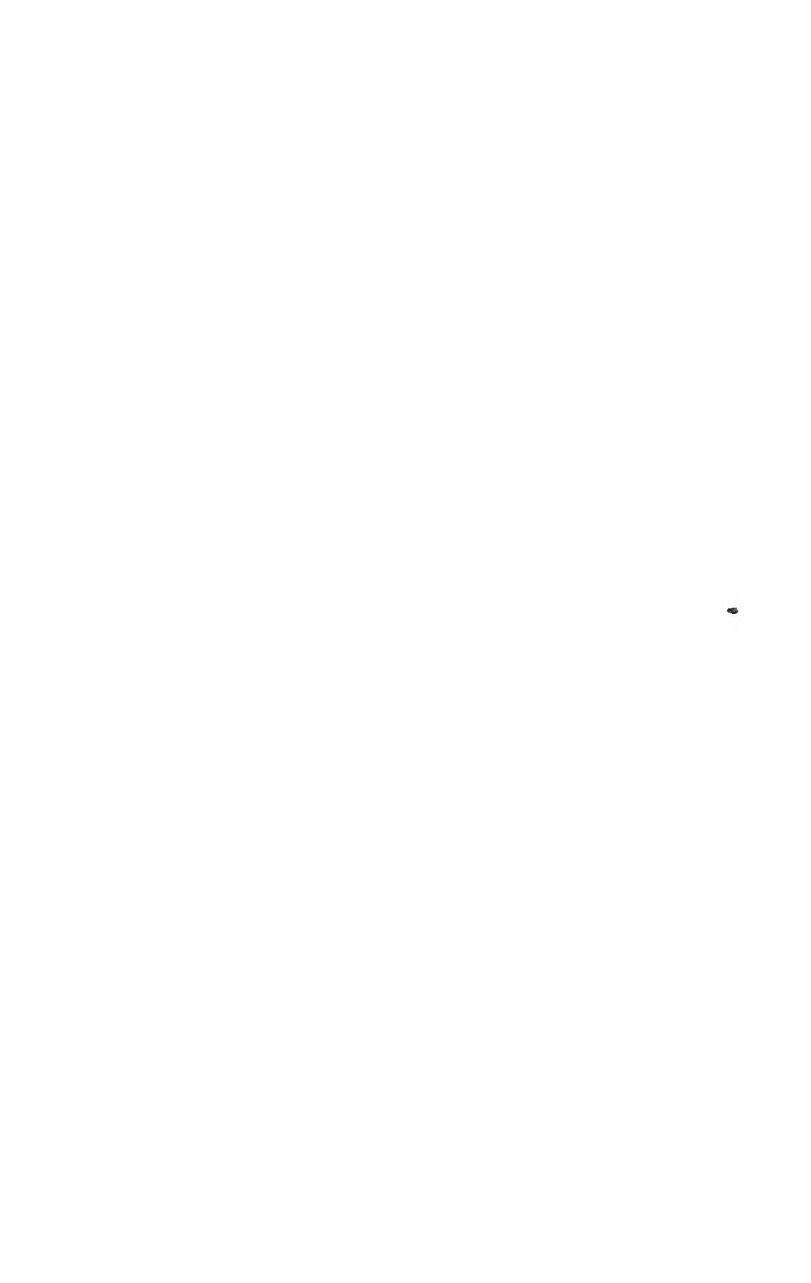
My thanks are tendered to United States Senator Nelson W. Aldrich, for the use of his valuable economic library ; to Colonel Carroll D. Wright, for suggestions

and for public documents; to Professor Richard T. Ely, for special service in the work of final revision; and to the many friends who, in various ways, have co-operated in the task now ended.

FIRST BAPTIST PARSONAGE,
PROVIDENCE, R. I., *May, 1886.*

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STUDIES IN MODERN SOCIALISM.

CHAPTER I.

IS THERE A SOCIAL PROBLEM? WHAT HAS CHRISTIANITY TO DO WITH IT?

“And again, they—the preachers—must not allow the Gospel to be handled, what is too often the case, as a mere message of hope and comfort in view of a future world; but they must make it walk directly into the complex relations of modern society. . . . If, in addition to this, our prophets of the pulpit take care to keep abreast of the intellectual movement of the age, so as not only to stir the world in sermons, but to guide them in the wisdom of daily life, they have nothing to fear from all the windy artillery that the speculations of a soulless physical science, the imaginations of a dreamy socialism, or the dogmatism of a cold philosophical formalism, can bring to bear upon them. Let them grapple bravely with all social problems, and prove whether Christianity, which has done so much to purify the motives of individuals, may not be able also to put a more effective steam into the machinery of society.”—*John Stuart Blackie*.*

“Is there a social question?” some one once asked the Frenchman Gambetta. “No,” answered the statesman, strangely blinded to the facts. “No, there is no social question.” Few men who think will accept Gambetta’s blunt negative. There is a social question. There has always been one since the human race outgrew the limits of its first family. And to-day that question is of burning and ominous importance. On the 23d of May, 1857, Lord Macaulay addressed a letter to an American friend, in which he writes: “The day will come when in the State of New York a multitude of people, not one half of whom has had more than half a breakfast or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a Legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a Legislature will

* “What Does History Teach?” Harper’s Handy Series, New York, 1886. Pp. 118, 119.

be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith; while, on the other hand, is a demagogue, ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne and ride in a carriage while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessities. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a working-man who hears his children crying for bread? I seriously apprehend that you will in some such season of adversity as I have described do things which will prevent prosperity from ever returning. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth; with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country and by your own institutions."* Are there any conditions in America to-day which make the fulfillment of Macaulay's prophecy a possibility?

The world was never richer than it is to-day. In fifty-four years Great Britain has almost trebled her wealth, France has nearly quadrupled hers, while our own country since 1850 has multiplied its riches sixfold. Each working-day, America is four million dollars richer at night than in the morning. Eleven million dollars are added every day to the wealth of America and Europe. In America and Europe the excess of births over the deaths is eleven thousand each day. So that for every one really added to the population one thousand dollars is added to the means of providing for his reception.† But the new-comer does not always get this provision; nor do his parents or friends get it on his behalf. Multitudes of new-comers are swaddled in rags and nurtured on the milk of

* "As you grow more people, and the pressure of population makes itself manifest, the spectre of pauperism will stalk among you, and you will be very unlike Europe if communism and socialism do not claim to be heard." Prof. Huxley, address at opening of Johns Hopkins University.

† M. G. Mulhall. *Art., The Increase of Wealth*, "North American Review," vol. xli, pp. 78-84.

poverty. There is wealth enough accumulated and daily produced, yet men shiver with cold and perish from hunger.

The old thrall that held the wage-worker in subjection has been broken. Christianity, German reformations, philosophies, French revolutions, or many influences combined, have stirred the common heart to feel the sacredness of common manhood. "Time was, when the laborer considered it as inevitable, as that he should suffer from rain and hail, that he should be oppressed by the strongest, the richest, the cleverest or the most influential."* No man now submits to such oppression as in the nature of things. The revolutions that have swept over society, setting men free from slaveries and serfdoms, have introduced also a general discontent. "Nobody," writes Laveleye, "is contented with his lot, nobody certain of his future. He who is rich strives to amass more wealth, he who lives by his labor trembles lest he lose even his livelihood. Every one is free to create his own destiny; there are no longer close trades or classes. Equality of right is complete; but inequality of facts remains to irritate all the more, because nothing is beyond the desire of any aspirant. More deceptions are realized, because more hopes are awakened. All may succeed, but all do not succeed, and those who remain below envy and hate those who remain above them."†

What are the facts of our social life to-day? A world, never before so rich, yet in every land a vast army of the discontented. Listen, and from Ireland and England, from Spain and France, from Italy and Germany, you shall hear the muttering of hate, the wail of suffering, the cry of revolt. In Paris flames broke out, and those who kindled the fire cried, "Down with the monuments which remind us of inequality!" The flames were smothered, but the sparks of the spirit that set the conflagration have been scattered the world over, to become the centers of new revolutions. For the world is one. Paris and New York, Berlin and Chicago, London and Boston feel a common thrill of the same great

* Montigny, "Mémoires de Mirabeau."

† "The Socialism of To-Day," by Émile de Laveleye. Translated into English by Goddard H. Orpen. London: Field and Tuer, p. xxviii.

popular movements. In your highest political wisdom, or in the maddest reach of economic folly, you may build a wall of protective legislation about your own America and shut out the competitions of the pauper labor of the old world. You may say there shall be no international comity of exchange. But you can not shut out foreign ideas or prevent the flow and reflow of the stormy tides of thought and feeling of international unrest and discontent.

What are the social facts of our American life? In his clear and convincing way Mr. Edward Atkinson writes, "On capital and labor allies, not enemies." As an economic principle his statement is as true as is that of the law of gravitation. As an actual economic condition, capital and labor are what? Allies or enemies? Working shoulder to shoulder each for its fellow's weal, and so best for its own; or drawn up in lines of battle? Answer, working-men from your Trades-Union halls! Answer, business men from your manufacturers' associations! Are you not eagerly watching each other? Are you not striving to circumvent each other, to see who can win the most and yield the least? Is it peace or war, practical alliance or practical enmity? These two twin children of one mother; these two, who need each other; these two, who each without the help of the other must perish from the earth, the one by dry rot and the other by starvation; these two, standing grim, defiant, each intent on his own end! Is it peace or war?

You take up your newspaper and read: "David Wilson shot his wife twice, to-night, and then himself. The wife died almost immediately and Wilson is fatally wounded. Wilson had been out of work for seventeen months, and with a family of six children to provide for, he is supposed to have become insane."

In the same column you read: "Mr. — has just completed his dog-kennels, at a cost of twenty thousand dollars."

These are the contrasts in social conditions that fire the hearts of the vast army of the discontented. You take up your newspaper again, any morning. You read: Michigan lumbermen on a strike; Pittsburg glass-blowers on a strike; Hocking Valley miners on a strike; Cleveland rolling-mills workers on a strike; great strike of the Woonsocket Rubber

Company's hands. In St. Louis street cars are overturned, traffic suspended, policemen and rioters injured during a strike. Near New Philadelphia, Ohio, a Swiss immigrant, who secured work in a coal-mine is shot dead in cold blood, because he refused to quit work at the command of the strikers. In Wyoming Chinamen are ruthlessly butchered for the grave offense of taking the places surrendered by striking workmen.* A strike, whatever be its justification, and though its only weapon be the refusal to labor—a strike is a declaration of economic war. A strike, whatever be its issue, is like all warfare, an economic waste. Says Laveleye: "Masters and men are in a state of constant warfare, having their battles, their victories and their defeats. It is a dark and bitter civil war, wherein he wins who can hold out the longest without earning anything; a struggle far more cruel and keen than that decided by bullets from a barricade; one where all the furniture is pawned or sold, where the savings of better times are gradually devoured, and where at last famine and misery besiege the home and oblige the wife and little ones to cry for mercy."† Is it peace or war?

"Capital and labor allies, not enemies." This is the economic truth, that which ought to be. "Capital and labor enemies, not allies." This is the general economic condition, that which is. And when the economic truth, the right that ought to be, and the economic condition, the thing that is,—when these are in conflict and contradiction, then there is a social question. Moving up and down our land to-day is an army of tramps. Scattered through our cities and towns are vast numbers of people unemployed. Multitudes of minds are thinking the principles, multitudes of hearts are throbbing with the aspirations of revolutionary socialism. The premise of Karl Marx that "the rich are growing richer and fewer, and the poor poorer and more numerous," is, by uncounted hosts, in all ranks and in all occupations, accepted as an axiom as indisputable as that two and two make four. The feeling, suggested to half-intelligence, by the thousand start-

* This was written in October, 1885. Pages might be filled with the bare record of subsequent strikes.

† "Socialism of To-Day," p. xxx.

ling contrasts of daily life, "Those who do nothing live in opulence ; we labor, yet are in extreme want," is a rapidly growing feeling. And sometimes the fierce underground current breaks forth, like a boiling geyser or a belching volcano, as in the too-well remembered Pittsburg riots of 1877. There is a social question. How important a question this is was apparent to a careful English observer, though we may recklessly choose to be blind to it. Says this writer : "Unlike the political fabrics of Europe, the American republic is founded upon the sovereignty of the people, and it will prosper or perish according as the mental and moral status of the sovereign people is high or low. The question whether labor in America will in future sustain, improve upon or degrade from its once high condition, is one beside which every other national problem, social, religious or political, is a matter of trifling moment ; for upon this depends the destiny of the greatest State and the life of the most beneficent government which the world has ever seen."*

There is a social question. Has Christianity anything to do with it? Has the Church anything to do with it? Has the Christian ministry anything to do with it? I might be content to quote one of Herr Todt's epigrams : "Whoever would understand the social question and contribute to its solution must have on his right hand the works on political economy and on his left the literature of scientific socialism, and must keep the New Testament open before him."† A certain pastor was preparing to discuss in his pulpit, on Sunday evenings, some practical questions of social economy. He mentioned his purpose to a friend. "Indeed !" said the friend, in great surprise. Then with a sorrowful air that was very touching, he added : "I am afraid you will find it very hard to have anything to say on such questions that shall be sufficiently religious for a sanctuary and for Sunday night." It is to be feared that this pastor's friend is not alone in his notion of religion. It is to be feared that too many people in

* "Old World Questions and New World Answers," by Daniel Pidgeon. New York: Harper Brothers, 1885, p. 132.

† Motto of "Radical German Socialism and Christian Society," by Rudolf Todt, Wittenburg, 1878.

the church have such a notion, and would no more than the Pharisees of old touch humanity's burdens with one of their fingers, lest they be accused of secularism, irreligion, worldliness. It is to be feared that too many people outside of the Christian church have such a notion of religion, and hence despise and neglect it, and its services, its ordinances, and its sanctuaries, as having no place in a busy life, no part among the productive factors of our complex modern industry. And because of this notion, piety is often divorced from principle and emotion from conscience, and toiling millions ceasing to look for help from the Church, or for hope from the God who is preached from the pulpits, turn away to indifference or to atheism.

But what is religion? What is Christianity? Whom do they propose to help? What is the sort of help they propose? Christianity proposes help for men—for every man; for each man as a single, entire, indivisible being—a being who can not be split up into segments; who is body and spirit, one man; whose body acts on his spirit, and his spirit on his body; who is affection, conscience, will—one man; the affections influencing the will, and the conscience influencing the affections; one man, spiritual, earthly, living in the world, destined for eternity; a man who prays, it may be, but who labors too, and whose prayers and labors affect each other—one man with one undivided life. To this man Christianity comes. What does it offer him? What does it seek to do for him? It offers him redemption for his soul. Yes; from the sin that crushes, from the selfishness that tyrannizes. Christianity offers man a true life by Christ, a life with Christ, a life like unto Christ's own. Yes; with such a life lived, worked out here, now, in shop, store, counting-room, home, everywhere. Christianity concerns itself with industrial and social questions because man's relations to the eternal laws of an eternal God are involved in these questions. To a missionary audience gathered last fall in the Tremont Temple in Boston, was addressed a missionary sermon. The following sentences from that sermon are commended to those who fear the secularizing of Christianity by its application to economic discussions: "It is certainly a true, but it is far from a complete conception of the aim of the Gospel merely to convert individ-

ual souls. Its mission is to penetrate and transform society. Its work is to leaven the whole mass of human interests with a divinely purifying power. It touches every act and every relation of humanity with a life from above, and interpenetrates all that man can do with a new spirit and a heavenly light. It affects governments, molds education, rectifies manners, sweetens fellowship, makes the common ways of men better, healthier, happier, as well as holier. Its endeavor is to realize a divine society not hereafter only but on earth ; to have the kingdom of God come not in the skies alone or in the future merely, but here and among men." * And how is this result to be brought about, if anything that pertains to humanity is to be excluded from the sanctuary and from the mission of the Church ? How are we to apply a divine remedy to human ills ; how are trade and business ever to be organized on the basis of divine law if moral and Christian people refuse to study and to discuss—and to discuss as moral and Christian people and amid the influences of the sanctuary—those sweeping industrial and social epidemics that menace us, that we may know whether we have or have not any adequate remedy for them ?

At Canterbury Cathedral is the grave of Stephen Langton, the greatest English prelate. Some builder, making an addition to the Cathedral after Langton's burial, not wishing to disturb the grave, arched it over with a wall, so that it lies partly within and partly without the sacred inclosure.† This dead bishop's grave is a not unfitting symbol of what a living Christianity and a living Church must be ; touching the holy of holies of divinest facts and highest truths, but because touching these touching also the wide world of common duty and the most vulgar need of busiest life.

For one I refuse to stand apart from these large issues of social order. I refuse to be scared away from any endeavor to widen the range of righteousness, by the pale, meager ghost of a feared secularity. I refuse to recognize as truly spiritual

* Rev. George Leon Walker, D. D., of First Congregational Church, Hartford, Connecticut.

† "Six Centuries of Work and Wages." By Thorold Rogers. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1884.

and religious any creed or doctrine of worship which can not appeal with power to "men's business and bosoms." When I am forbidden in the name of religion, of the sanctity of the Sunday and the sanctuary, to speak of diseases that threaten the dissolution of society and the death of all faith, because, forsooth, my talk must be for the most part something other than what is technically called religious talk, I answer that in the name of religion, in the name of the Sunday, the sanctuary, the pulpit, the church, in the name of God, in the name of the humanity that the religion I believe in was intended to bless and to elevate, I will speak. And I appeal to my Master for my right thus to speak. Listen to the words of Jesus Christ: "If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?" How such words ought to broaden our thought of religion and Christianity! Spirituality builds character out of materials furnished by morality. Justice, honor, honesty, integrity, righteousness from man to man—these have much to do with the shaping of character, the saving of the soul, the destinies of eternity.* The soul that has no capacity for common morality has no capacity for the unsearchable riches of Christ. The religion that ignores these social facts is a half religion—a useless religion.

In discussing some of the practical applications of Christian ethics to a few of the more urgent economic and social problems, I do not claim to speak as an expert in economic science. The more I have studied these questions, so intricate, so multiplex in their bearings, so occult in their varied forces, working, as another has said, from "directions so diverse, and from distances so historic,"† the less I find I know about them. I only claim to speak as one who tries to keep his eyes open,

* "I will do no more here than just to add my profound conviction that a greater mistake can not be made than that of supposing that because our Lord brings another world into light, and heightens the hope of immortality, His teaching and His word are not for this world too, and for men and women here and now. The truth is that the very character which is essential for the future world is the very character which here in this world, is the salt of the earth." "Reassuring Hints." By Rev. Henry Footman. New York: James Pott & Co., 1885. P. 168.

† "Social Problems." By Newman Smyth. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1885. P. 7.

his thoughts clear, and his heart warm with all kindly human feeling. I hope to be religious in spirit ; but I do not seek to be technically religious in thought or phrase. There will be in these pages, perhaps a trace of theology, but certainly a great deal of economical philosophy ; little professional and pulpit talk, and much market-place and workshop talk. I hope to be discriminating and fair ; free too, as one whom no capitalist owns, and no trades-union controls ; claiming that utmost Christian liberty of thought and utterance which the historic Church whom it is my honor to serve, has always asserted for its ministers. And you will give a fair hearing to fair speech.

It will surely help us that we look these problems squarely in the face. They may seem less terribly insoluble by our candid study of them. It may be we shall find that the pressure of industrial disorders, and the rapid spread of socialistic philosophies are calling our attention to our prolonged neglect of certain very essential moralities in our industrial and social organization.* It may be we shall find that the selfish principle, "Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost," is not the most useful economic principle, and that the highest economic thought and the best and most profitable economic action, are coming with rapidly converging lines toward the spirit, the cross, the law of Jesus Christ. It may be we shall find that the only secret of all fraternity, of all combination, of all coöperation, the only reconciliation of social differences, the only sufficient guarantee of just wages, honest labor, happy life, are in fellowship with One who was born in a stable, cradled in a stall, the child of poverty, the companion of fishermen, whose hands were hardened and browned by lowly toil, yet who sat an honored, courteous guest at rich men's tables, and slept his last earthly slumber in a rich man's tomb—One—Jesus, the carpenter, friend, brother, Savior of humanity, worthy to be the master, since he became the servant of all.

* See "Work among Workingmen." Ellice Hopkins. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1882. P. 166.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF MODERN SOCIALISM.

"Our rich men, though they purchase pictures, statues, and embossed plate; though they pull down new buildings and erect others, and lavish and abuse their wealth in every possible method, yet can not with the utmost efforts of caprice exhaust it. But for us there is poverty at home, debts abroad. Our present circumstances are bad; our prospects much worse. What, in a word, have we left, but a miserable existence?"—*Catiline to the Conspirators*.*

THE 14th of October, 1806, was a memorable day for the German University town of Jena. From the neighboring heights of the Landgraffenberg the batteries of Napoleon were plowing deadly furrows through the ranks of the Prussians. Murat's cavalry, twelve thousand strong, had swept the wavering host of the enemy, as with the rush of a tornado. Even after dark the pitiless conflict raged. In one of the houses of Jena, a teacher in the University sat writing all through the day and far into the night. The thunder of cannon, the clatter of multitudinous iron hoofs, the screams and groans of the wounded and the dying, fell unheeded on his ear. What were the fates of men and of empires compared with the great thoughts which crowded his brain and sought expression by his pen? In the cold gray of the morning, his task accomplished, the philosopher hastened away to his publisher, to be brought down suddenly, however, from his aërial flight, as he entered the street, and was informed by bearded gesticulating Frenchmen, who made him their prisoner, that men's present interests lay in a somewhat different direction from almost undecipherable manuscripts and even more incomprehensible philosophies.

* Sallust, "Conspiracy of Catiline," section xx.

In one of our American cities, there was a meeting of Socialists. A woman rose, and with fierce invective in her tones, screamed out : " Workingmen, why will you be slaves ? Twenty-five cents' worth of hog's grease in each man's hand, and rightly used, will free you from your masters ! "

Between the nameless scold and George Frederick Hegel, the philosopher, there seems to be a measureless distance. Here, the angry woman, with speech revolutionary and maudlin ! Yonder, the studious, quiet thinker, thinking thoughts so tough that he is reputed himself to have said of them : " There has been only one man who understood me, and even he did not understand me ! " Yet between these two, stretches the history of nineteenth century Socialism. It is to this century that we must confine our survey, and even here we can only take hurried glimpses.

Socialism, indeed, is no new thing under the sun. In all ages, in every land, whenever there were large inequalities in human conditions, socialistic yearnings appeared, either as protests against existing evils, or in dreamy plans for social reconstruction. Until the present age, however, these plans and protests had for the most part taken the form of philosophic or experimental Communism, which is a special type of Socialism. Plato's Republic will at once occur to you, in which the most subtle and spiritual of ancient thinkers advocated community of property, community of wives and children, the absolute equality of the sexes, with the same education and the same occupation for both. The outcome of the first burst of Christian enthusiasm in Jerusalem was a species of communism among the disciples. A very serious blunder, as it turned out, short-lived and leaving the Jerusalem saints pauperized and dependent for bread upon the charity of their brothers from other regions.* In the history of the Church the spirit of Communism was always finding expression. The monasteries and convents, which crowded Europe, were communistic establishments. Amid the upheavals of the middle ages we find Millenarians, Adamites, " Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit," in the Netherlands, Taborites in Holland,

* See article, " The Christian Conception of Property." C. H. Parkhurst. " The New Princeton Review," January, 1886, p. 36.

many of the Anabaptists in Germany, the Levellers in England, all Communists. Charged with these same ideas, we have Joachim writing his "Everlasting Gospel," and Fénelon his "Salente," and Harrington his "Civitas Solis," and Sir Thomas More his "Utopia." More's work reads as though issued from the campaign press of the International Society. When he declares that existing governments are in fact only "permanent conspiracies of the rich to further their own interest under the mask of the common good, and to despoil labor," we can almost imagine that we are listening to Lassalle, or Hyndman, or Herr Most. Few Socialists, however, would go as far as More, and wish that all should eat at a common table, and dress after the same fashion. Whenever in these ages, such ideas pervaded masses of men whose sufferings had become intolerable, there were insurrections and massacres; as by the Shepherds and Jacquerie in France, by Wat Tyler in England, and by John of Leyden in Germany. The "oldest American charter" under which Virginia was settled, provided for "a common storehouse into which products were to be poured, and from which they were to be distributed according to the needs of the colonists." Under this constitution, the people of Jamestown lived for five years. The first pilgrims to New England had a similar arrangement, and the Boston Common of to-day is the historic monument of that early Communism.

Here let us pause a moment at the verge of our own century and ask what is Communism? What is Socialism? They are allied in both principle and practice. They both express dissatisfaction with existing conditions. They both aim, by radical measures, at improving the common lot of humanity, and especially of the lower classes, so called. What is Communism? What is Socialism? Questions far more easily asked than answered. As between the two, Socialism is the genus of which Communism is a species. Every Communist is a Socialist. But all Socialists are not Communists. What, then, is Socialism? In no book have I seen a clear, exhaustive, satisfying definition. Everybody who desires the improvement of society is a Socialist in the opinion of some other body. "Are you not a Socialist?" asked the French magistrate, who was examining Proudhon. "Certainly." "Well,

but what, then, is Socialism?" "It is every aspiration toward the improvement of society." "But in that case we are all Socialists." "That is precisely what I think."* Of course, Proudhon gave no true definition. Socialism is a plan for the reorganization of society, on the basis of social or state ownership of all the instruments of production. Its war-cry is, "Free land, free tools, free money." It is an endeavor to determine, by state enactment, the price which shall be paid for labor and for the product of labor. It is not a war upon capital or private property as such, but war only upon the individual ownership of productive capital, and against certain forms of private property. Communism, as distinguished from Socialism, is the abolition of all forms of private property. It is absolute community of good. The Socialist's principle of distribution would be "to every man according to his work," the Communist's principle, "to every man according to his need." It is not Communism, illustrated by Virginia or Massachusetts charters, by Owenite settlements at New Lanark or New Harmony, by the Icarians of Nauvoo, the Zoarites in Ohio, the Amanaites in Iowa, by the Shakers and the Oneida Perfectionists; it is not this, but Socialism—state or social ownership of the instruments of production, state or social determination of the price of labor—with which, in these discussions, we chiefly have to deal.

Turn again to history. When Hegel finished his philosophic treatise, on that bloody night at Jena, the French Revolution had come and gone. It had come like a spasm of disease that had convulsed the world. It had gone, leaving social anarchy, financial ruin, governmental absolutism behind, but leaving also influences of unrest and revolution that are still at work. Rousseau had taught that there was no foundation of property but need; and Brissot, anticipating the famous words of Proudhon, that "exclusive property is theft"; and Saint Just, that "the right to property can not be the right to starve one's fellow-citizens, since the fruits of the earth, like the air, belong to all men"; and Babœuf, that "the state must be sole proprietor and employer, dispensing to every man his work, according to his particular skill, and

* Quoted from Laveleye's "Socialism of To-Day," p. xv.

his subsistence in honorable sufficiency, according to his wants." These principles had been formulated in the decrees of the French National Convention, during the dominance of the Mountain party.* When the forces of revolution had been crushed by the forces of military despotism, the ideas that had been the volcanic fires of the great upheaval were still vital ideas. And with them wrought the war-cry of the Revolution—"Liberty, equality, fraternity."

Karl Marx said, "The reformation was the work of a monk, the new revolution will be the work of a philosopher." "The head of this emancipation is philosophy. Its heart is the proletariat." Here we have our historic line reaching from Hegel at Jena to the woman in Chicago. For in Hegel Socialism found its philosopher. Hegel was not a Socialist. But it was his teaching as to the constitution of things and the method of history that furnished the basis for modern Socialistic argument. Hegel had transformed the world with its personal deity and personal immortality into a world of reason. Feuerbach, a disciple of Hegel, went further and abolished reason itself. He affirmed the senses to be the only sources of real knowledge, that the body is not only a part of man's being, but is the whole of it, and that a man is what he eats. "Man," said Feuerbach, "has no other God before man. Man alone is our God, our Father, our Judge, our Redeemer, our law and rule, the Alpha and Omega of our political, moral, public and domestic life and work. There is no salvation but by man. Hence, as there is no person above man—no person who in being or right is more than a man—so there is no person who is less. There must be no slaves, no heretics, no outcasts, no outlaws, but every being who wears human flesh must be placed in the enjoyment of the full rights and privileges of man. The will of man be done. Hallowed be his name."† On this humanist, materialist foundation of young Hegelianism, scientific Socialism builded. Interpreting history and forecasting the future by

* "History of Political Economy." Gérôme-Adolphe Blanqui. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1880, p. 427.

† Quoted from "Contemporary Socialism." John Rae, A. M. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1884, pp. 115, 116.

the Hegelian method, holding loyal allegiance to Feuerbach's humanism, fortifying themselves by prolonged study of political economy, statistics, history, law and literature, the leaders of Socialist thought started on their careers for the renovation of society. Chief among these leaders may be mentioned Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lassalle.

Marx was born at Treves in 1818. He was educated at Bonn, banished to Paris, thence to Brussels, returned for a while to Germany, was driven to London, where, dividing his time between economic studies and direction of the International Society, he lived until his death in 1883. In 1867 Marx published his famous work on capital. We shall have frequent occasion to refer to Marx's theories, and can only stop to note that the aim of his book is to prove that as society is now constituted all capital is the result of robbery. The book is revered by Socialists as their Bible, the supreme flower of all economic wisdom. Its knotty mathematical and syllogistic abstractions, translated into common speech, have largely become the workingman's catechism throughout the world.

Ferdinand Lassalle was born at Breslau in 1825. He was early interested in economic studies, and himself tells us that at the age of twelve his "astonishment was aroused at finding his mother and sister buying in retail shops the same goods his father sold wholesale." At the University he accepted Hegel as his master in philosophy, and in politics ranged himself with the most radical democrats, already known as "revolutionaries." If Marx was the Melanchthon of the Social Reformation, Lassalle was its Luther. If Marx was the Moses, the lawgiver of the New Exodus from the Egypt of capitalistic bondage, Lassalle was the Joshua, organizing the uprising horde of freedmen and inspiring them for the conquest of the Socialist Canaan. Lassalle taught little that was new. He was the agitator, rather than the thinker. He was young, handsome, magnetic, admired by men, caressed by women. He was the especial friend of Humboldt, who called him his "youthful prodigy." He was the intimate of Bismarck, on whose white uniform he is said to have left the red badge of strong sympathy with the aims of the new revolution. Wielding the economic maxims of Adam Smith and

Ricardo, and borrowing largely from Proudhon, Louis Blanc, and Karl Marx, Lassalle snatched Socialism from the dreamy regions of books and abstract thought, and hurled it as a fire-brand of strife into the streets, the workshops and the homes of the poor. By two years of work he had aroused all Germany, and created the Democratic Socialist party. Wherever he went he left a host of admirers, who speedily formed themselves into workingmen's associations.

In no country of Europe were the conditions of labor satisfactory. Over in England Christian hearts had been stirred. The Chartist movement, conjoined with the Paris revolution of 1848, had aroused Frederick Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes and their co-workers to organize a society called Christian Socialists. These men were in no true sense Socialists. They were only large-hearted lovers of their race, who sought that some nobler justice than seemed possible from the teachings of the Manchester economists, should be exercised toward the working classes. The efforts of these Christian men accomplished some noteworthy reforms, and largely aided in the co-operative movements that have become such a power in English industry.* In June, 1851, Kingsley preached to workingmen in a London church. When he concluded, the rector of the parish rose and denounced the sermon. It was a painful scene, and a riot seemed imminent. Kingsley returned home weary and soul-sick, and wrote his "Three Fishers," whose truthful, mournful cadences have thrilled so many hearts alike of rich and poor :

"Three fishers went sailing out into the West,
 Out into the West, as the sun went down ;
 Each thought of the woman who loved him the best,
 And the children stood watching them out of the town.
 For men must work, and women must weep,
 And there's little to earn and many to keep,
 Though the harbor bar be moaning.

* Goddard H. Orpen, "Socialism in England," in Laveleye's "Socialism of To-Day," pp. 300-306. Rae's "Contem. Soc.," pp. 225-228. Ely's "French and Germ. Social.," pp. 249-256. "Christian Socialists," R. T. Ely, in "The Christian Union," May 28, June 4, June 11, 1885.

"Three wives sat up in the lighthouse tower,
 And they trimmed the lamps as the sun went down ;
 They looked at the squall, and they looked at the shower,
 And the night-rack came rolling up ragged and brown.
 But men must work, and women must weep,
 Though storms be sudden and waters be deep,
 And the harbor bar be moaning.

"Three corpses lay out on the shining sands,
 In the morning gleam, as the tide went down.
 And the women are weeping and wringing their hands,
 For those who will never come back to the town.
 For men must work, and women must weep,
 And the sooner it's over the sooner to sleep,
 And good-by to the bar and its moaning." †

The movements of the Socialist agitation are becoming almost too rapid even for our rapid glances. Societies are everywhere springing up. In France we have the followers of Auguste Blanqui, with their motto, "Neither God nor Master"; and the Anarchists led by Prince Krapotkine, Elisée Reclus, and Émile Gautier, who wish with fire and dynamite to abolish property, state, inheritance, the family, religion ; and the Collectivists, the disciples of Marx, who have many millionaires in their membership, and whose chief tenet is the nationalization of land. Laveleye believes that a majority of French workmen are Socialists. In Germany there are Social Democrats, State Socialists, Anarchists, Christian Socialists and the Socialists of the Chair. Some of the members of this latter school occupy professorships of political economy in the leading Universities, notably Wagner at Berlin, who, while not Socialists within the limits of our definition, yet have large sympathy with the aspirations of the working classes and an intense antagonism toward the leading maxims of the orthodox economy. In Spain, Holland, Denmark, Austria, Socialism is taking root, while Russia pours forth a glacial stream of chaotic Nihilism, with Michel Bakunin as its apostle ; although to-day, in Russia, the aim of the Nihilist is not Socialism, but political and constitutional reform.

Hitherto Socialism had presented only national aspects.

† Charles Kingsley, his "Letters and Memoirs," p. 156.

Its logical working developed Internationalism. Says Laveleye, "The cosmopolitan character of capital, the facility of transport and exchange, the identity of manufacturing processes, naturally lead to an international association of workmen."* By many employers, the places of men on strike had been filled by importations from abroad. Workingmen saw that this would not do. There must be a common understanding among the workmen of all countries. In 1862 certain French manufacturers and newspapers proposed that a delegation of French workmen be sent to the London Exhibition. The idea was sanctioned by the Emperor; and, by the suffrage of the several trades, the delegates were chosen. On the 5th of August, 1862, the French delegates and their English hosts held a fête of international fraternization at Free-Masons' Tavern in London. On the 28th of September, 1864, a meeting of the workmen of all nations was held in St. Martin's Hall, London. A committee of fifty was appointed to draw up statutes of organization, to be submitted to a Universal Congress. This Congress met at Geneva, September 3, 1866. Its tone was moderate. Its pronounced aim was the joint action, the advancement and the complete emancipation of the working classes. In 1867 the Society began to make its power felt. Karl Marx was the soul of the movement. Soon dissensions sprang up. The violent spirit of some members did not suit the careful and conservative spirit of other members. At first the International was only a vast trades-union. But there were those who wished to make it the organ of revolution. Its sessions became scenes of wordy war. Yet still it spread. It pushed out into Denmark, Portugal and the United States. In 1869, at the Congress at Bâle, Cameron, the American delegate of the National Labor Union, declared that he had brought to the Congress the adhesion of 800,000 unionists. There is no proof whatever of the charge that the terrible scenes in Paris in 1870 were the work of the Internationalists. The uprising of the Commune, or Parisian municipality, was a political movement, not at all a Communist or Socialist uprising; though after the fall of the Commune the General Council of the International did

* "The Socialism of To-Day."

send from London manifestoes expressing their admiration and sympathy for "the glorious vanquished." At the Congress of the Hague in 1872, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Switzerland, France, Spain, Portugal, Hungary, England, Ireland, America and Australia, were represented. There was a fatal clash of opposing tendencies. Some of the more violent members left the Congress. A few were expelled. Marx and his party triumphed, and the seat of the General Council was transferred to New York. The International, as representing the United Socialistic Workingmen of the World, ceased to exist. But the fragments of the broken union survive in all lands, vital with potencies for unmeasured good or evil. Meanwhile, in England, socialistic doctrines have been taking deep root. Karl Marx's residence in London was not without fruit. The principles of the Social Democracy pervade the working classes; while statesmen, clergymen, nobles and commoners are uniting in leagues for the nationalization of land.

The first revolutionary socialism was probably brought to this country by German immigrants in 1848. In 1865 a band of the disciples of Lassalle was organized in New York. In 1868 American workingmen were represented at the International Congress. Since then the relation between American labor and European Socialism has never been broken. In 1872 New York became the seat of the Internationalist Council. In 1879 Augustus Maverick published a full-page article in the "New York Tribune," in which he traced the intimacy between the American Labor Union and the International, and claimed, with what justice I do not know, that the great railroad strike of 1877, culminating in the Pittsburg riots, was fomented by the plots of the International.

Like its European progenitor, revolutionary socialism in America has been split in twain. The schism took place in 1883. One party is known as the International Working People's Association. These are the extremists, anarchists, dynamiters. The other party is called the Socialistic Labor party. In the intellectual and educational quality of its members and in the method of its propaganda it differs widely from the International. But the aim of the two parties is identical, social reorganization through ultimate revolution.

In 1879 Henry George published his world-famous work entitled "Progress and Poverty." Mr. George is not a Socialist, except as to the national ownership of land. But the atmosphere of the book is thoroughly Socialistic. His premises are those of Karl Marx and Lassalle. The book is intensely fascinating. The eloquence of its style, the gleanings from literature, the skillful marshaling of facts and figures, the earnest moral, even religious enthusiasm of a great idea and a dominant purpose, sweep your sympathies along with the rushing tide of his arguments, even when the arguments do not carry your convictions. No book in this age has made so profound an impression. No economic treatise has ever been so widely read. It has put critics to their mettle. It has made converts in most unlooked-for centers of economic thought. It has captured the faith of multitudes of English-speaking workmen. Its appearance was timely for its success. The panic of 1873 and the wide-spread commercial disasters and prolonged depressions of trade and industries that followed, checking progress and bringing the weight of crushing poverty upon tens of thousands, have furnished fruitful soil for its seed. Its premises and conclusions with all their radical defects are widely accepted articles in the workingman's creed. A part of its fruit appeared in New York city on September 5, 1883. From ten to fifteen thousand men paraded the streets under the auspices of the Central Labor Union. They bore banners inscribed with such mottoes as these: "Workers in tenement-houses—idlers in brown-stone fronts"; "Labor is the rock on which the Government of the future must be built."

The philosopher has done his work. The abstract principles which few can understand have filtered down through all ranks of society, until angry want has translated them into common and threatening speech, making them the war-cry of the ignorant and the desperate. The Socialist woman of Chicago and the philosopher of Jena touch hands.

This survey of the history will at once disabuse our minds of the notion that there is nothing in Socialism worth our attention. It will also disabuse our minds of the notion that the typical Socialist is a cropped-haired, low-browed, beery-breathed, brutal fellow, with a pistol in his belt, a bowie-knife in his boot, a torch in one hand, club in the other, and

a package of dynamite in his pocket. Some Socialists are that, but all are not. The majority are not. Many are educated, refined, well-to-do gentlemen, poets, artists, editors, with some capitalists. Nor are we to identify Socialism with atheism. The chief leaders have been atheists. Its philosophic origin was atheistic. Multitudes of the rank and file are atheists. It is sad enough that so many men and women are found who say that they have no further use for God. "He does not care for me, why should I care for Him?" But atheism is no necessary part of Socialism. There are Catholic Socialists in Germany led by Bishops of the Church. There are Christian Socialists in England who go far beyond Kingsley and his colleagues. Whatever truth there is in Socialism, and there is truth in it, despite its fatal errors, is a Christian, not an atheistic truth. Let us be fair. Let us discriminate. Socialism is here. It claims a hearing. It shall have a hearing. Christianity has much to do with these questions. It is not to atheism, nor to materialism, that the masses of humanity are to look for their personal enfranchisement and their social regeneration. Only as men face these questions squarely, discuss them honestly, listen to the statement of grievances by those who feel them, and in the spirit of mutual confidence and fraternity live out and act out some wise and Christian conclusion, can we hope to exorcise that anarchic demon who now bodes such evil to our social order.

CHAPTER III.

THE SOCIALIST'S INDICTMENT AGAINST MODERN SOCIETY.

"The misery, the oppression, the slavery, the degradation of the working class, grow in proportion to the diminution in number of those capitalist lords, who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this period of social evolution."—*Karl Marx*.

IT is the Socialist who speaks. I lend myself to be his automaton. The mind that now thinks is not mine, but the Socialist's. In the trial of this great cause, Socialism *vs.* Modern Society, my present aim is to get the indictment clearly before you. This can be best done if I content myself with simply acting the part of prosecuting attorney, refusing to be either judge, jury or counsel for the defendant, or even judge-advocate to see that both plaintiff and defendant have fair play. I am now for the plaintiff alone. As upon the Delphic priestess of old there came the possessing inspiration that transformed her into something other than herself, so upon your writer there shall come the controlling frenzy of even the wildest Socialistic raving.

You will have to listen to a very Babel of voices. There are Socialists and Socialists. There is not full unity of sentiment. You must hear all types of the true Socialist. You must also bear in mind the fact that this Babel of discordant voices contains echoes of cries of complaint that come from multitudes who are not Socialists at all. There are thousands of men who have no possible sympathy with the Socialist's aim or methods, who believe in the substantial truthfulness of his indictment against society, and who make that indictment their own.

Lend, then, the Socialist your ears. He must give you a few definitions before he can utter intelligible speech. For he

uses some common words with entirely new meanings. Listen ! "Modern 'civilized' society is divided into three classes, as follows : The aristocracy, consisting of all people in Europe who come of 'gentle blood,' and those in America who live upon inherited wealth—the Drones ; the *Bourgeoisie*—consisting of all those who derive their living from rent, profit or interest ; those, in short, who are not wage-workers, together with their hangers-on and allies—the robbers ; the Proletariat, the working-people of the world, those who really do the work, and who receive in return a part of its worth called 'wages'—the Plundered slaves."—"Capital is the surplus remaining of the earnings of labor after all its needs have been supplied. Capitalized profits, familiarly and wrongfully known in the commercial world as 'capital,' is either the unpaid wages of the producer, or a forced tax upon the necessities of the consumer. Property (honestly acquired, stored up labor) is sacred. Profit (capitalized profits, miscalled property) is the solidified fruit of wholesale brigandage, in brief, theft. Rent is robbery. Interest is an immoral and unjust tax extorted by a master from the necessities of a slave."* One can not but express the wish that our lexicographer had drawn more sharply the lines of distinction between his three social classes. For it is difficult to see how the Aristocrat, living on an inherited fortune, can fail to descend to the burgher class and take the rent or interest on which to live. It is also difficult to see how the laborer, if he has a few dollars in the savings-bank, can fail, when he draws his interest, to count himself as not altogether a wage-receiver.

When, as the ancients fabled, Prometheus stole fire from heaven and made it the common property of men, Jupiter, in vengeance for the theft, sent Pandora to earth. Venus gave her beauty, Mercury cunning, and all the gods bestowed each some fateful gift for the punishment of mankind. Pandora came to earth, bringing a box full of blessings. But Pandora's curiosity prompting her to open the box, out flew a swarm of curses to prey upon the hearts and lives of men. So, says our

* "Socialism," by A. J. Starkweather and S. Robert Wilson. Introduction by Burnett G. Haskell. New York : John W. Lovell Company. (Lovell Library, No. 461.) Pp. 5 and 7.

Socialist, James Watt with his steam-engine brought the blessed Promethean fire. But the capitalist gods of the Olympus, fearing for their sovereignty, have sent a Pandora, who, with her box of countless mischiefs, oppressions, fleecings, has changed the forces of all multiplied industries into curses, and that which should have enfranchised only en-slaves. What visions of hope for humanity must have filled the minds of the great inventors, Watt and Arkwright, Whitney and Howe, Hoe and Bessemer !—visions, such as George describes : “ Youth no longer stunted and starved ; age no longer harried by avarice ; the child at play with the tiger ; the man with the muck-rake drinking in the glory of the stars ; foul things fled, fierce things tame, discord turned to harmony ; for how could there be greed where all had enough ? How could the vice, the crime, the ignorance, the brutality, that spring from poverty, and the fear of poverty, exist where poverty had vanished ? Who should crouch where all were freemen ; who oppress where all were peers ? ” But, alas ! these bright visions have not been realized. There are hard times, depressions, poverties everywhere. From childhood to old age the multitude toil, without ambition, without recompense, without hope. In the “ brave days of old,” master and men were brothers. Each man might aspire to be a master. He owned his tools. He had a little capital. In many cases his home was his workshop. But now, for the most part, capital owns the tools. Invention has multiplied the power of production a thousand-fold. But has it multiplied the laborer’s comfort ? Rather it has diminished it. It has supplanted him by a machine. It has concentrated industries into vast corporations. It has changed the worker from a thinker, a doer, into a mere machine-tender. The sewing-machine, which promised such blessings to the needle-woman, has left her more overworked, more underpaid and with health more endangered than before. The old inarticulate moan which the hand of genius has fixed in woful words and set to melancholy music is still the only language of hopeless thousands :

“ Work, work, work,
From weary chime to chime !
Work, work, work,
As prisoners work for crime !

Band and gusset and seam,⁴
Seam and gusset and band,
Till the heart is sick and the brain benumbed
As well as the weary hand." *

Families are broken up—home-life is impossible, and women and children take the places and do the work of men, at constantly reduced wages. More and more capital is concentrating. Monopolies are growing huge and overbearing. A few men own the telegraph. A few men control the railroads. They pool earnings or divide stealings. They combine with other industries, mine-owners, oil-producers, manufacturers, to rob the consumer and divide the spoils. They corrupt judges, bribe juries, buy Senates, carry Governors in their pockets, and in stock boards and produce exchanges stake on the throw of the dice-box the blood and brains, the very virtues, homes and hopes of millions.

A workingman, Mr. J. Willett, of Glenn, Michigan, in a letter to the "Christian Union," of October 29, 1885, writes : "The Government rings, the bank rings, the Board of Trade rings, the railroad rings, the whisky rings, the manufacturing rings, the mercantile rings, the professional rings, the mine-owners' rings, the religious rings, and the political rings live on the workingman, all and each of them ; and all and each return, in many cases, but little as an equivalent for what they receive."

Our Socialist will bid you listen to the exceedingly bitter cry of outcast London. He will point you to the late appalling revelations of the "Pall Mall Gazette." He will take you to certain quarters in London, or Edinburgh, or Manchester, or Berlin ; ay, even in New York and Chicago. He will put you under the guidance of one like Sandy Mackaye. You shall hear Sandy say in his Scotch brogue : "Look ! There's not a soul down that yard but's either beggar, drunkard, thief, or worse. Write anent that. Say how ye saw the mouth of hell, and the twa' pillars thereof at the entry ; the pawn-broker's shop on one side, and the gin-palace at the other—'twa monstrous deevils, eating up men, and women, and

* "The Song of the Shirt," by Thomas Hood.

bairns, body and soul. . . . Look at thae barefooted, bare-backed hizzies, wi' their arms around the men's necks, and their mouths full of vitriol and beastly words. Look at that Irishwoman pouring the gin down the babbie's throat ! Look at that raff o' a boy gaun out o' the pawnshop, where he's been pledging the handkerchief he stole the morning, into the gin-shops to buy beer poisoned wi' grains o' paradise, and cocculus indicus and saut, and a' damnable, maddening, thirst-breeding, lust-breeding drugs ! Look at that girl that went in wi' a shawl to her back, and cam' out wi'out ane. Drunkards frae the breist ! harlots frae the cradle ! Damned before they're born ! " * And if you ask our Socialist what tree bears this bitter, poisonous, humanity-destroying fruit, he will answer the tree of capitalism, the tree of private enterprise, the tree of competition, the tree of "Laissez faire," the tree whose vital sap is "flecings," stolen, sucked up bodily from the soil of the earnings of the wage-workers.

Our Socialist tells us that the wage-working classes are slaves to the employer, as really slaves as were the Southern blacks before the war, and worse off than these. For Cuffee had his cabin, his clothes, his food, care in sickness, support in old age. His disablement or death was money out of his master's pocket, while Tom, Dick and Harry rent their own houses, buy their own food, pay their own physicians, work for little, accumulate nothing, die in the poor-house. And their disablement or death means to their masters only an opportunity to employ cheaper labor. Even the feudal system was better than the modern one. The retainers of the feudal lord were his friends and kinsmen. Rights meant duties. Property involved service. In England fifty years ago, Cole-ridge could write : "The voice of the trumpet is not indeed heard in the land. But no less intelligibly is it declared by the spirit and history of our laws that the possession of a property not connected with special duties, a property not fiduciary or official, but arbitrary and unconditional, was in the sight of our forefathers the brand of a Jew and an alien, not the distinction nor the right, nor the honor of an English baron

* "Alton Locke." Rev. Charles Kingsley. London : Macmillan & Co., 1874, p. 69.

or gentleman." * But to-day the right of property is the right to accumulate, to combine for accumulation, to enact laws that further accumulation ; to supplant labor by machines ; to enervate, and narrow, and cripple labor, and by competition to cheapen it ; to keep labor idle, mines closed, workshops shut, that production may be decreased for an advance of prices and an increase of profits. Free contract between employed and employer is a delusion. The freedom is all on one side. It is the freedom to buy in the cheapest market without a corresponding right to sell in the dearest market. The supply of labor is more than the demand. Capital is hoarded or wasted while laborers are starving. The slave driven by hunger and by the cries of his children, will sell his labor for what his master will consent to give him. Widows unable to earn enough to keep the wolf from the pinched frames of their children, will offer their own bodies to procurers for vice, or to purveyors for the medical student's dissecting-room, and then go out to a harlot's life or a suicide's death, that their children may get bread. And Capital, the tyrant, grows fat on the leanness his tyranny makes. Modern industrial conditions are reducing the wage-workers to a more permanent and more increasingly numerous class, a class out of which no native brain-force, no skill, no industry, no thrift will enable a man to rise. "Every millionaire is a criminal." "Every man who loans his neighbor \$100, and exacts \$106 in return, is a criminal." Capital—accumulated fleecings, accumulated withheld wages—and labor, the source of all wealth—Capital and Labor Siamese twins ! "Are Capital and Labor Siamese twins ? Why ? Because they are in contact with each other ? So is the horseleech and his victim."

Our Socialist is not content with generalities of statement. He deals with facts and figures. He studies the census tables and the reports of bureaus of statistics. He draws, as does Mr. Laurence Gronlund,† a series of parallelograms. He calls

* Quoted from "Social Questions." By Rev. J. Llewelyn Davis. London : Macmillan & Co., 1885, p. 211.

† "The Co-operative Commonwealth in its Outlines. An Exposition of Modern Socialism." By Laurence Gronlund. Boston : Lee & Shepard, 1884, pp. 23, 24. The above quotations are also from this work.

these "cakes." From the top to the bottom of his parallelogram he draws a line. One side of the line is the wage-worker's share of the cake, the whole of which, according to the Socialist, the laborer has produced. The other side of the line is the share of the capitalist. The capitalist share is labeled "fleeings." It is divided into three parts. Two parts, equal to each other, are called interest and rent. The third part, as large as the other two combined, is called profits. Profits, interest, rent, are fleeings. Five parallelograms represent the five census returns of the industrial product of the country for the years, respectively, of 1850-'60-'70-'80. Each successive parallelogram increases in size. In each one, the side which represents fleeings is larger than in the one preceding, while the wage-worker's return is correspondingly smaller. The robbers are waxing fat on their stolen dainty. The worker is getting thinner.

Our Socialist looks about him for the allies and hangers-on of the robber class. He sees a press, the organ of monopoly, silent on all questions of socialism and radical reform, a retrogressive, impracticable agency, pulling down, never building up, "a cut-purse and a cut-throat." He sees the pulpit, claiming to be teacher, leader, and censor of morals, the spiritual counselor and guide of men, a worthless thing standing in the path of progress, absolutely injurious, opposing all reforms it does not invent or engineer, always on the side of capital, since it is its creature and does its work, "taking up the falsehoods of the press and reiterating them, adding its own peculiar venom, the condemnation of men and the judgment of God."* I quote again from Mr. Willett's letter to the "Christian Union": "The great curse of the world has always been the moral degradation and depravity of the ruling classes, and the flippancy with which the priesthood will gloss over their crimes or pass them by. They can denounce the sins and shortcomings of the workingmen, but are easy on the sins of those in high social position. We have never expected any help from the priesthood class; as a class their feelings of self-interest are all in favor of the aristocracy, and special privileges and 'subordination.'"

* Quoted or paraphrased from "Socialism." By Starkweather and Wilson.

Our Socialist sees in the legal fraternity the most vicious and dangerous members of society ; men whose trade is to lie, cheat, steal, and to condone and defend all crime and criminals ; men who by instinct and training are the friends and defenders of all tyrannies and the natural enemy of labor. He sees a military class, army men, militiamen, policemen, sheriffs, jailers, hangmen, those whose trade is murder foul and cold-blooded, who are loafers, bummers, and dead-beats, whose business is brutalizing, degrading, and heinous, who follow the trade to which their instincts prompt them, but who under a better social system might be utilized as butchers or scavengers, or for other necessary and useful labor.* All these, together with the hereditary wealth-owners, the active capitalists, the loan-mongers, the farmers, the mine exploiters, the contractors, the middlemen, the factory lords, our Socialist regards as "the modern slave-drivers ; they who, through their money, machinery, capital and credit, turn every advance in human knowledge, every improvement in human dexterity, into an engine for accumulating wealth out of other men's wages, and for exacting more and yet more surplus value out of the wage-slaves whom they employ."† "Working for wages," says our Socialist to the wage-receiver, "working for wages, you are not a freeman, but a slave, and a slave whom your employer despises, and will get along without whenever he can."

Looking at society in its largest aspects, we ask our Socialist what ought modern society to be like. He answers : "It ought to be like a company of gentlemen and ladies at a dinner-table, where each, knowing that there is enough for all, strives to have his fellow served bountifully." We ask what modern society is like. He answers : "It is like a pen full of hogs into which a pail of swill has been thrown, where each, fearing that he will not get enough, grunts and pushes and roots, and with much struggling and biting, strives to get all he can for himself, not caring that his neighbor goes hungry."‡

* "Socialism." By Starkweather and Wilson.

† H. M. Hyndman. Quoted in Laveleye's "Socialism of To-Day," p. 317.

‡ Ibid.

Our Socialist is not only a lexicographer, a statistician, an agitator ; he is an economist as well. First and foremost, he is an economist. Adam Smith had said, "Labor is the foundation of all value." He had said further, "The produce of labor constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labor." Without regarding any of the explanations and qualifications of the statements, even those which Smith himself made, our Socialist takes the statements as they stand. He proceeds to argue : Adam Smith, Ricardo, Mill, all the economists, declare that labor is the source of all wealth. "All wealth is due to labor; therefore, to the laborer all wealth is due."* How, now, does capital come? Capital is labor, or the results of labor, stored up for future production. In primitive society laborer and capitalist are the same man. But as society advances laborer and capitalist become two men. The capitalist presents himself in the market of commodities with stored-up labor, or that which represents it—money. He buys machines, tools, raw materials. In order to work up these into product he also buys the workman's "labor force," the sole source of all value. The money temporarily transformed into wages and merchandise reappears, after the sale of the product, more or less increased in amount. Capital is born. What is the value of the workman's "labor force"? It is what it costs to produce it. The cost of the production of "labor force" is whatever is necessary to support the life and strength, up to best working quality, of the laborer and the children who will succeed him. The value of labor is the equivalent of the hours of labor socially necessary to produce the maintenance of the laborer. How now, asks our Socialist, does it happen that capital gets its hands full, while labor goes with hands empty? We let Karl Marx answer : "To produce the commodities necessary for the laborer and his family, a whole day's work is not needed ; five or six hours would suffice. If, then, the laborer worked for himself, he could obtain all he needed in half a day, and the rest of his time he might devote to leisure or to procuring superfluities. The slave of antiquity, the serf of the middle ages, when gaining his freedom in the existing social order, did not at the same time acquire prop-

* H. M. Hyndman. See p. 76, note †.

erty. He is, therefore, obliged to place himself in the service of those who possess the land and the instruments of production. These naturally require him to work for them the whole day of twelve hours or more. In six hours the laborer produces the equivalent of his subsistence ; during the remaining six hours he produces surplus value to the profit of his employer. From this surplus, pocketed by the employer, capital comes into being."* The matter of the laborer's subsistence plays an important part in socialistic logic. Ricardo, an English economist, had defined the cost of wages as having a necessary relation to the cost of the subsistence of the producer. Lassalle called Ricardo's law the "iron law of wages," the huge hand that crushed the laborer to the dust. According to Lassalle, the law works on this wise : The minimum of subsistence necessary for the existence and reproduction of the working classes is the line toward which wages always tend. They can never fall much below that line, for then the supply of labor would, by death and other causes, be reduced and wages would rise. They can never go much above that line, for increase of comforts would mean early marriage, many children, an increase of laborers and a consequent diminution of wages. The competition of the laborers among themselves lowers the price of labor. In every kind of labor it must therefore result that the wages of the laborer are limited to the exact amount necessary to keep him alive. Hence thrift is impossible to him, savings impossible, accumulations impossible. The iron law works to the increasing advantage of the masters, and the doomed slave is held in a bondage from which he can never, except by a total change in economic conditions, hope to escape.†

Our economic Socialist lays great stress on the land question and the law of rent. He says the land belongs to the people, and ought to be used by the people. But look at England, where, by a system of robberies, spoliations and confiscations that have been going on for centuries, thirty thousand people own all the land occupied by thirty million people ! Look at

* Laveleye's "Socialism of To-Day," pp. 28-30.

† Laveleye's "Socialism of To-Day," pp. 54-56 ; Rae's "Contemporary Socialism," p. 96 ; Ely's "French and German Socialism," p. 191.

the United States, where vast land areas have been given away to railroad corporations—areas “nearly equal to the great States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri, and three times the total area of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales”;* and where the best estate is taken without leave or license, until foreign and domestic lords of the soil have fenced in millions of acres, defending them by law and by force against all comers. Look at the law of rent—the law which no economist disputes, that “the rent of land is determined by the excess of its produce over that which the same application can secure from the least productive soil in use.” Look at this rent-taker, this freebooter of the middle ages come back again; this sponge, this parasite! See with what increasing impudence he levies his increasing exactions upon all production, getting the lion’s share from the capitalist and the more than lion’s share from the wage-worker, and reducing the toiler to the minimum crust.

From these economic premises our Socialist turns to consider the inevitable result in existing economic fact, “The rich are becoming richer and fewer, the poor poorer and more numerous.” With industrial progress, increasing poverty goes hand in hand. The gulf between social classes is widening. On the one side, the upper side, is a class which works not at all with its hands, and enjoys luxury in excess of what is reasonable. On the other side, the lower side, is a class working far too hard for health, and living in miserable social conditions. The gradations between these two are being gradually crushed out. Enormous wealth, increasing wealth, with fewer and fewer to enjoy it; enormous misery, increasing misery, with more and more to suffer it! Society is compared to a ladder,

* “Land and Labor in the United States.” By William Godwin Moody. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1883.

Art., “Danger Ahead.” Lyman Abbott. “Century Mag.,” November, 1885, p. 56.

Art., “Landlordism in America.” Thomas P. Gill, M. P. “N. A. Rev.,” vol. 142, pp. 52-67.

Art., “America’s Land Question.” A. J. Desmond. “N. A. Rev.,” vol. 142, pp. 153-158.

Twenty-nine alien and absentee landlords own 20,647,000 acres of land in the United States; or a territory as large as Ireland.

with a round at the top, and a round at the bottom, the top narrowing, the bottom widening and all the middle rounds falling out.*

How long can this last? asks our Socialist! Not long! not long! These awful, and under the present system, inevitable laws, that grind the poor and multiply them as they grind, grinding down into poverty all middle classes, small farmers, tradesmen, manufacturers, these laws that keep wages low, and rent advancing, these shall kindle the revolutionary fires in the heart of the masses. These shall be more clearly understood, until the slaves shall know their slavery and its causes. They shall know that "while the master sought the chattel-slave, the wages-slave seeks his master," that "while the chattel-slave gave work for his food, the wages-slave can not get food for his work." Down with the system of wage-slavery! Down with competition, private enterprise, *laissez faire*, the tyranny of capitalism! Why should the many toil in want, that the few may live in idleness and luxury? Not long! Not long! The law of social evolution is working in the right direction. Capital is concentrating itself in few hands. Poverty is diffusing itself among a multitude. Scant families in the palace! Children swarming in the hovel! Fewer rich and richer! More poor and poorer! The many will not always be the slaves of the few. The legislation, the governmental administration, the social conservatism, largely always in the interest of wealth, will not stay the revolution, whenever the lengthening lower round of the social ladder refuses to bear up the intolerable burden of the shortening upper round. Anarchy? Your present system is anarchy. Your social order? Rather your social disorder! "A system chaotic, organically and hopelessly unjust! A system where the laborer's back is the green table whereon the whole game of modern industry is played, and on which in shameful welts and sores all the losses are scored!"† Down with this bastard Social order!

This is the Socialist's indictment against modern society. He has spoken with his own words often, always with his

* Gronlund, "Co-operative Commonwealth," p. 41.

† Rae's "Contemp. Social.," p. 93.

own thought. It is a terrible indictment ! It makes the very flesh creep and the heart for the moment stop its pulsations. Certainly it is an indictment which must set us all to thinking. What do I think of this indictment ? What do you think of it ? If the motion were made here to quash this indictment on the ground that it involves no cause for action, I would oppose the motion. If the supreme and irresponsible power were committed to me, which is too often unwisely committed to public prosecutors, I would refuse here and now to enter a *nolle prosequi* in this case of Socialism vs. Modern Society. I believe that this indictment is on the whole unjust ; with fatal fallacies of argument and gross exaggeration of fact. I dissent from the statement of economic principles and economic conditions on which this indictment bases its appeal for revolt and its hope of successful revolution. Yet, I am convinced that there is too much in the indictment that is soberly, sadly, terribly true, to warrant our dismissing it with a sneer or burying it under a denunciation.

CHAPTER IV.

WHAT THE SOCIALIST DEMANDS.

“ Labor and distribution should be collectively organized : every one should receive for a fixed amount of labor a fixed amount of capital, which would constitute his property according to right. Property will thus be made universal. No person should enjoy superfluities, as long as anybody lacks necessities ; for the right of property in objects of luxury can have no foundation until each citizen has his share in the necessities of life.”—*Johann Gottlieb Fichte*.

AGAIN the Socialist speaks. Again I lend him brain and voice. Again I serve as his automaton, or, if you prefer, as his amanuensis. He has invaded the quiet of my study. He paces the floor with restless air. He pours out, in my hearing, a torrent of nervous, incisive, revolutionary words. I sit at the table to catch and to report, as best I can, his rapid, excited and often confused speech.

Our Socialist speaks, not now as lexicographer, statistician, economist, but as a physician, a medicine-man. One type of this medicine-man is more a surgeon than a doctor. And his surgery is not of any rose-water sort, but of a very rough, radical and bloody sort. The tools of his trade are not lancets and saws that one may carry in a velvet-lined case. He has only one tool, a butcher's cleaver. His remedy is a very simple one, “ Off with the patient's head ! ” If you ask how the body can survive after such heroic surgery, he will tell you that future society, cured society, is to have no specific head at all, but to be all head as it is to be all hands.

This Socialist is an Anarchist. As far as any organization represents him the International Working People's Association represents him. You ask what this Anarchist demands. Listen ! I quote from the “ Pittsburg Proclamation,” adopted

by the Pittsburg Congress of Internationalists. "What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply : First—Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, i. e., by energetic, relentless revolutionary and international action. Second—Establishment of a free society, based upon co-operative organization of production. Third—Free exchange of equivalent products by and between productive organizations, without commerce and without profit-mongery. Fourth—Organization of education on a secular, scientific and equal basis for both sexes. Fifth—Equal rights for all without distinction as to sex or race. Sixth—Regulation of all affairs by free contracts between the independent communes and associations resting on a federalistic basis."* You ask, what precisely does all this mean? In answer, I quote at length from one of the expositors of the Internationalist's creed : "Socialism proposes to abolish the system of wages-slavery, and instead establish governmental co-operation for production and distribution." "Socialism proposes to secure to every person who labors the full equivalent of his labor, partly in personal remuneration and partly in social and public benefits, such as education, recreation, transportation, communication and the best possible sustenance and care in sickness and old age—not as a charity, but as a debt that society owes to every useful citizen." "Socialism proposes to perfect the educational system by abolishing the present lack of system. The State would educate every child thoroughly, and as it advanced give it an opportunity to master any science, art or mechanical pursuit for which its tastes or abilities adapted it." "Socialism proposes scientific, intelligent, enlightened government, or free co-operation on the basis of liberty, equality, fraternity, and solidarity." "Socialism proposes to stop the wastes of society by having none of its members uselessly employed or idle, and by turning the great army of non-producers into an army of useful producers—more workers and less work for each." "Socialism proposes that machinery shall do the world's work, and that the whole peo-

* Quoted from "Recent American Socialism," by Richard T. Ely, Ph. D. "Johns Hopkins University Studies," third series, iv. Baltimore: April, 1885, pp. 27, 28.

ple shall own such machinery and shall reap the full benefits thereof, individually and collectively ; not as at present, when machinery is owned only by wealthy individuals and corporations, and operated to the degradation of the human machines who attend them." "Socialism proposes that the cultivation of land is the sole title to its occupancy ; that the soil is common property ; the improvements belong to the individual ; that as fast as practicable and consistent with individual liberty, the Government should resume title to all land and cultivate it in large domains to the best advantage, by the most improved machinery, and the raising of only such crops as are best adapted to the soil, climate, season, etc." "Socialism advocates the destruction and utter extinction of all emperors, kings, princes, nobles, and tyrants, crowned or uncrowned, titled or untitled—no figure-heads and no castes." "Socialism advocates that the time and service of one man is equal ultimately to the time and service of any other man ; hence the nearest approach to exact justice is equal pay for equal time and expenditure of equal energy." "Socialism would abolish poverty by preventing it, by removing its causes. As poverty is the cause, directly or indirectly, of all crime, therefore by the abolition of poverty, crime would be almost unknown, and with poverty would disappear all the lice, leeches, vampires and vermin that fatten on its filth—such as the entire legal fraternity, soldiers, police, spies, judges, sheriffs, priests, preachers, quack-doctors, etc." "Socialism would have money based on labor performed, and therefore represent some tangible wealth or benefit to society. The man therefore who labored would have money or labor-notes to the amount of service he had rendered. If he performed no useful work he would have no money, hence no food. On the other hand, the man who had more money than he had labored for could readily be detected and deprived of that which belonged to some one else. Under a socialistic system extremes of poverty and wealth in the hands of individuals could not exist. The people in their collective capacity would own and control all the surplus wealth of the nation or community."*

But you ask still more definite statements as to how our

* "Socialism," by Starkweather and Wilson, pp. 28-30.

Anarchist-Socialist proposes to secure all these ends. Definite statements are with difficulty obtained if they can be obtained at all. Some anarchists seem to agree with the Social Labor party. Others differ very widely from them as to the State. There are some who say, "We want no State. The doctrine of *laissez faire*—the 'let alone' policy—is good enough for us. Why, our political leaders have been teaching us that the less government the better; that 'the world is governed too much'; that the State is at best a necessary evil. Well, we propose to do away with the evil altogether." "The State is only another name for oppression. We want no State. We recognize the right of no individual or body of men to interfere with us. We will have neither State nor laws. Every man shall have liberty to do as he pleases, unless he wants to amass property or in any way control production." This Anarchist-Socialist tells us that, "as gregarious animals, and for the sake of voluntary co-operation, men will naturally form themselves into self-governing communes and townships, into which the whole of mankind will ultimately be resolved." As to economic principle, our Anarchist-Socialist would place all activities upon an equal basis of reward. Equal time and equivalent expenditure of force bring equal earnings. A dollar might represent the toil of one hundred minutes and one dollar would always be equal to another. Your hundred minutes of work could earn no more than mine or any other man's. The value of all products would be measured by the number of hours it had cost to produce them. How this method is to be applied is illustrated by a specimen page from the account of John Smith, metal-worker. Mr. Smith has received the book from the County Clerk. It contains Smith's photograph, personal description, etc. On one of the leaves is the following entry made by the foreman of the shop where Smith works :

John Smith in account with Socialistic Republic, the people of the United States.

Cr. Jan. 2. By labor, 6 hours, 30 minutes.

During the week Smith, working as much or as little as he pleases, has earned thirty-six hours and thirty-five minutes. He goes to one of the Government grocery markets and finds articles marked in hours and minutes, the exact time it has

taken to produce them. Smith buys what he needs of the clerk and balances the account as follows :

John Smith,

Cr. By labor done, 36 hours, 35 minutes.

Dr. To goods bought, 15 hours, 40 minutes.

Time on hand, 20 hours, 55 minutes.

If Smith chooses he can have this balance in labor-notes. "Under this system," says its expositor, "for the first time in the history of the world would the worker be able to secure the full value of his work."*

But we must invite our friend, the internationalist, the anarchist, the absolute equality man, to step aside for a moment, that another type of socialist, a truer representative of real socialism, may speak. This man belongs to the Socialistic Labor party. At Baltimore, in December, 1883, the "Manifesto of the Congress of the Socialist Labor Party" was promulgated. It contains, among other declarations, the following : "Labor being the creator of all wealth and civilization, it rightfully follows that those who labor and create all wealth should enjoy the full result of their toil. Therefore, we declare : That a just and equitable distribution of the fruits of labor is utterly impossible under the present system of society. This fact is abundantly illustrated by the deplorable condition of the working classes, which are in a state of destitution and degrading dependence in the midst of their own production. We furthermore declare that the present industrial system of competition, based on rent, profit-taking and interest, causes and intensifies this inequality, concentrating in the hands of a few all means of production, distribution and the results of labor, thus creating gigantic monopolies, dangerous to the people's liberties. We further declare that these monster monopolies and these consequent extremes of wealth and poverty, supported by class legislation, are subversive of all democracy, injurious to the national interests, and subversive of truth and morality."

"To abolish this system with a view to establish co-opera-

* "Socialism." Starkweather and Wilson. Appendix A. By B. G. Haskell, pp. 80, 81. In the visitor's book at the Oneida Community is a specimen of labor-check, written by Robert Owen.

tive production and to secure equitable distribution, we demand that the resources of life—namely, land, the means of production, public transportation and exchange—become as fast as practicable the property of the whole people.” *

Our Labor-Socialist is, as regards the State, at quite a wide move from his brother, the Anarchist-Socialist. The Labor-Socialist does not see how there can be any true social ownership, any rational production in the common interest, unless there is some social control and regulation. He is not opposed to the State as such, but only to what he calls the existing class or capitalistic state, and this state he would transform into the socialistic or people's state. While the Anarchist avoids politics and depends on agitation alone, the Labor-Socialist is a politician. He votes. He believes in the ballot. The Anarchist has a very loose form of “association.” The Labor-Socialist organizes a “party.” The Anarchist would precipitate revolution by deeds of violence.† The Labor-Socialist regards this as madness. He believes that revolution is by evolution, a thing not made, but grown. He advocates peaceful agitation and use of lawful measures on behalf of his principles, until the violent conflict shall be forced upon him by his capitalist masters—an issue which he believes is certain to come.

When we ask our Labor-Socialist for specific details of his plans ; how he proposes to arrange his new industrial order ; by what charts of economic philosophy his financial and productive methods will be guided ; by what lights of administrative wisdom his path of statesmanlike regulation will be illumined—his answer is somewhat hazy and indefinite. He admits that his principal thought has been given to the destructive rather than to the constructive side. He is a critic, not a builder. He has looked so intently on the disease of society, that while he thinks himself able to make a diagnosis of the case, he is not so certain of himself when he comes to act as a practitioner of the healing side of his art. One of

* Quoted from Ely's "Recent American Socialism," p. 47.

† There are some who believe in Anarchy as the highest form of human life who are peace-men. Of these the late William Lloyd Garrison was an example.

these Labor-Socialists, writing as expositor of the new creed, with quite becoming modesty confesses that the details of the creed have not been perfected. "If, as we maintain," he writes, "this wage system is nothing but a temporary phase of the evolution of society, then it follows that political economy is destined to be superseded by a new philosophy—a true science—as soon as the new conditions arise. Under social co-operation we shall have a perfectly different philosophy of the production and distribution of wealth, which we not inaptly may call social economy. But do not for a moment suppose," continues our expositor, "that we here intend to elaborate that new science. We are all of us too much the children of our own age to make such an attempt. Do not forget that Socialists are not willing to be taken for architects. He is a bad architect who can not plan the building he is required to erect, to the nicest details ; who is unable to tell the size of this drawing-room, or the exact location of that closet. Do not demand such details from us."*

Certainly the demand would be an unfair one. When the vast historic building of the economic and administrative past has been tumbled into chaos ; when foundation-stones are struggling to become columns and architraves ; when all the books on social architecture have been torn up ; when all the guiding lights of experience have been extinguished ; when the new order is expected to emerge from the old, under the impulse of forces that have never been measured in any historic or philosophic crucible ; and when these forces are expected to formulate their own philosophy, certainly it would be too much to ask that we should have detailed statements as to the plan of the growth and the method of the life of this new order. Yet the becoming modesty of our expositor does not hinder him from going into something like detail. If he can not be an architect, he can at least be a botanist. If he can not tell how many leaves his plant will have, he can at least know what kind of a plant will grow from a specified seed. This indeed may be doubted, if the seed is of a sort hitherto unknown to the botanist's science. But we must let our Socialist speak for himself : "Interest, profit, rent will

* Gronlund, "Co-operative Commonwealth."

become things of the past as soon as the commonwealth takes hold of the whole industrial and agricultural plant. Wealth will no longer be used as capital, and consequently will be no longer borrowed. Society will own all productive capital. Profit will disappear. It will be added to the reward of labor. Rent, as a tribute levied by the individual monopolist of land, will be no more. All land used for agricultural or industrial purposes will have become a part of the collective plant. Land used by citizens for homes or other private purposes will yield rent or taxes to the commonwealth." Every citizen will bear his proportion of the social expenses, either in the shape of a rent paid as taxes, or in a percentage, added to the actual labor-cost of each article that is purchased. Exchanges will be facilitated by some such contrivance as labor-checks. If the revolution shall be accomplished without violence, the State may see fit as a matter of policy to give to the robber class a fair compensation for the property which the State will take under its control. But no interest will be allowed, and the claims will be paid, not in money, but in labor-checks; and if the claim be sufficiently large, the payment will be in the form of annuities. Goods will be classified as worth not so much money, but so much work. The merely incidental function of money as a measure of value will be abolished. "A day's work, meaning the simplest work of average efficiency of a normal working day, will be the measure of value. All services will not receive equal reward."* Here our Labor-Socialist differs from the Anarchist-Socialist. The Labor-Socialist is not a Communist. His maxim is "To every man according to his work." The value of the social service rendered by each worker will be determined by the State.† The commonwealth in its character as statistician will fix the amount of production for each succeeding year or season. In this way over-production, under-production, and commercial crises will become impossible. No man will be a wage-worker, no man a slave. The State will employ all and direct all. Each worker, whether laborer, foreman, clerk, manager, teacher, editor, or physician, will be a servant of

* Quoted or paraphrased from Grönlund, "Co-operative Commonwealth."

† On definition of State, see p. 95.

the whole people, a public official, whose function will be directed and his compensation fixed by the commonwealth.

When we ask our Socialist for some details of his governmental administration, he again confesses that he is no architect. Yet here, as in the matter of economics, he has some very pronounced notions. The administrative State will do its work in the interest of the industrial State. Labor will be the corner-stone of the entire building. Under the new system society and the State will be exchangeable terms. "Between the economic and social organization of the State there will not be a particle of distinction. The new order will have no use for Presidents and Governors, who, for their term of office, are masters of the situation." The Senate will be abolished; the new order will have no use for it. It is the creation of despots and always their tool. There are Socialists who propose a House of Representatives whose action shall be referred to the people for sanction or rejection. There are others who do not believe in any representative body. All Labor-Socialists advocate the "Referendum"—the reference of all laws to the people whom their passage will affect.* Our Socialist would have all appointments made from below, and the power of removal vested in the classes above. For example, the letter-carriers will appoint the Postmaster; but the Postmaster may dismiss a letter-carrier for cause. The workmen in the various shops of a factory will elect their foremen. The foremen will choose the Superintendent. The Superintendent will choose district chiefs. And so at last there will be chosen a National Board of Administration, whose function it shall be to supervise the whole social activity of the country. The test of office will be capacity. The test of continuance in office will be efficiency. Politics will cease to be a trade, and will become the personal interest of all the people.

Our labor Socialist does not propose to abolish private property. Homes, furniture, silverware, jewelry, pictures, books, personal tools, labor-notes—a man may still own. And what he owns he may give away while he lives or bequeath to those who survive him. But there will be no bonds, no stocks, no mortgages, no evidences of debt. All lands, rail-

* Of this the government of Switzerland furnishes an example.

roads, telegraphs, telephones, all mines, warehouses, factories, shops, bazaars, machines—these society will own. To these, use will give the only rightful personal claim. The farm that is not tilled, the city lot on which no dwelling stands shall be open to the occupancy of the first man who will put farm or lot to proper use. State ownership of all instruments of production, State management of all industry, State determination of all compensation for work done, competition abolished by the merging of all enterprise in a huge monopoly that will in some undescribed way effect exchange without profits—this is our socialist's ideal. Material industry will be the basis of all action, the guide of all legislation. The administration of justice will be simplified, for lawsuits are the children of competition. To this material industry intelligence will lend its thought. Out of this industry poetry will soar and sing its songs. On behalf of this industry science will investigate, and discover and invent. To the adornment of this industry art will lend pencil and brush and chisel.*

If you ask our Socialist whether the life of the slave-drivers, as he terms them, is, on the whole, an easy life, whether there are no burdens for the back of the employer of labor, no thorns in his pillow—no sleepless nights, no care-worn days for him, our Socialist will answer, yes, indeed. He knows as well as you that ninety-two per cent of all the business men of the country are, in the long run, unsuccessful men. But then our Socialist will say, "This is the fruit of competition, of capitalism." We propose to abolish all this. When Labor sits on the throne, acknowledged as the creator of all wealth, she will sway her gracious scepter as the dispenser of all blessings alike to all. There shall be no very rich and no poor. There will be no failures, no bankruptcies. Since there is no private capital, everybody will be enlisted in the service of the State, and an average of two hours' labor each day on the part of all will produce a social competence sufficient for all.

* See Gronlund, "Co-operative Commonwealth." Also in confirmation of this and previous chapters, so far as they represent State or Labor Socialism, see testimony of A. Donai. Report of the committee of the Senate upon the relations between Labor and Capital. Washington: Government Printing-Office, 1885, vol. ii, pp. 702-743.

If you ask our Socialists what will be the family life under the new commonwealth, the answers will be discordant. Some Socialists are free-lovers. To their thought, family, property, estate, all belong to the land of Egypt, the land of the task-masters, and will be totally abolished by the enfranchised of the new exodus. Such Socialists are human cattle-herders, scientific human cattle-breeders, men whose language and arguments have too much savor of the sty for pure minds to think, or decent pens to record, or clean lips to report.* There are other Socialists, and these the vast majority, who stand by the family. They claim that social vice will be rendered impossible when all women can earn a support, and when early competence for both men and women makes early marriage the rule.

What does our Socialist demand? In brief, the abolition of the existing order, the substitution of State ownership of capital for personal ownership of capital, the substitution of collective enterprise for private enterprise, State regulation of cost of wages and product instead of competitive regulation of cost, State superintendence of industry instead of private superintendence. Capitalism, competition, private enterprise to the scaffold! Labor, universal labor, to the throne!

Between the Egypt—where a horde of slaves make bricks without straw, and rear palaces, temples, pyramids, treasure-houses for their masters—and the fair Canaan of Freedom, our Socialist sees a Red Sea of violent revolution. Our Anarchist-Socialist rejoices that the sea is there. He would open it to-morrow if he dared. He would entice the Pharaoh of capital, with all his hangers-on and allies, to commit themselves to the treacherous sands from which for a moment the waves have rolled back, for the safe passage of the enfranchised—and then the winds of retribution, evoked by the rod

* "Dr. Dulke, in a Social Democratic club in Stuttgart, expressed himself in favor of polygamy, as the most ethical form of marriage, according to refined conceptions, while he denounced Christian marriage as a decidedly immoral institute." "The Aim of Socialism." By Rev. John H. Oerter. "New York Tribune," June 1, 1878. See also quotations from Socialist newspapers in Ely's "Recent American Socialism," pp. 33, 34. "Free love" is, as appears in "Plato's Republic," the logical accompaniment of "free land, free tools, free money."

of some new Moses, should blow the waters of ingulfing ruin upon the oppressors of mankind.

Our Anarchist-Socialist would then sing his song of triumph, not unto God, for he knows no God, but unto the forces of revolution—"Sing unto revolution for it hath triumphed gloriously. The capitalist horse and his rider hath it thrown into the sea. The enemy said, I will pursue, I will divide the spoil, my lust shall be satisfied upon them ; I will draw my sword, my hand shall devour them. But thou, O Revolution, didst blow upon them with thy wind ; the sea covered them ; the earth swallowed them ; they sank as lead in the mighty waters." *

Our Labor-Socialist does not like the sea. He would keep as far away from the sea as he can, and as long as he can. Yet the thought of revolution does not frighten the Socialist. Indeed, revolution will render unnecessary any compensation to the capitalist. The State, emerging from revolution, can "exploit" as it pleases. Conflagration, murder, robbery, ruin ! Ah, we do not make them. You make them,—you, who resist the inevitable evolution. For beyond this Red Sea the Canaan lies.

It is a fair land—a beautiful Utopia—of which our Socialist dreams. One great robbery, the resuming of all their rights by the people, shall put an end to all robbery. In that fair land all shall be kings. There the greed of gain, the lust of gold, the relentless hell that yawns in the hearts of rich and poor alike ; the greed that turns all blessings into curses, that sets your palace and your noisome cellar and squalid garret side by side ; the greed "that fills your prisons and your brothels, that robs womanhood of its grace and childhood of its joy and innocence"—shall be forever banished. There every man shall be well clad, well housed, well fed. No idlers shall be there, no pauper class, no criminals. The weary feet of the tramp shall be at last at rest. Churches shall no longer look down upon tenements where "hungry infants moan and weary mothers weep." † Welcome the era

* See Exodus xv.

† Quoted and paraphrased from "Progress and Poverty." Henry George, various pages.

of industrial freedom ! Welcome the era of equal prosperity ! Room to reach this goal of justice to all is our demand ! Hail to the true Kingdom of Heaven ! Long live the Social Revolution ! Hail to the Reign of Peace !

So our Socialist speaks. Again you have heard, sometimes his words—always his thought. What have we to say to him ? Well, we have very much to say to him, but not yet. Even as I hold his indictment to be substantially unjust, so I hold his demand to be largely irrational. But no more than I could consent to quash off-hand his indictment, can I consent to dismiss curtly his demand. The smoke of the Socialist's indictment has some fire as its origin. It is our business to find out if we can where the fire is and what caused it, that if possible we may put it out. The huge pile of chaff in the Socialist's demand has not been heaped up by him from the great thrashing-floor of human thought and feeling without gathering also some few grains of precious wheat. And it is our business as honest men to find, if we can, this wheat amid the chaff, that while the chaff is blown away we may turn the wheat into such bread of industrial progress and administrative reform as shall best nourish the advancing life of humanity.

CHAPTER V.

IS REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM AN IMPENDING PERIL ?

“ While you here do snoring lie,
Open-eyed Conspiracy
His time doth take ;
If of life you keep a care,
Shake off slumber and beware ;
Awake ! Awake ! ”—*The Tempest, Act II, scene 1.*

THE form of our question pronounces a judgment upon Socialism. No scheme for social change that, on the whole, would be regarded as a gain, ought to be treated as a peril. To say that Socialism is a peril, is to say that whatever of truth there is in it, its error is more than its truth ; that whatever of good there is in it, its evil is greater than its good. This judgment is pronounced. The sum of the demand we have heard from the Socialist, whether he be of the Anarchist or of the Conservative type, is a revolutionary demand, whose accomplishment would mean wide-spread and lasting disaster. In pronouncing this judgment upon Socialism, we do not banish the Socialist from Court. We rather, for the furtherance of the aim of this present chapter, assume to pronounce judgment. We are seeking now to influence certain members of the Court ;—members whose views and conduct must have weight in determining the final verdict. We seek to show some reasons—apart from any presentation of a real grievance, and apart from any righteous revolt against injustice,—why in the court of an intelligent public opinion, Socialism must have a hearing. Socialism, whether regarded as anarchy, or as “ State ownership of the instruments of production, State determination of the price of labor,”—Socialism is

a peril. That is assumed. Is the peril far away? Or is the march of events bringing us face to face with problems of the most serious nature, which we must meet, and in whose right solution the welfare of the present and the destiny of the future are involved? Whether the peril assumed is a peril impending, is the question now before us.

Professor Richard T. Ely gives these incidents: "As I was walking by the Union League Club House in New York city, at the time of its house-warming, while the people were driving up in their fine carriages, one poor fellow stood on the opposite side of the street watching the ladies enter in their extravagant toilets. He was a good-looking, intelligent-appearing man, but wore no overcoat. It was a cold evening, and he seemed to me to be shivering. He was evidently thinking of the difference between his lot and that of the fashionable people he was observing. And I heard him mutter bitterly to himself, 'A revolution will yet come and level that fine building to the ground!' A friend of mine," continues Professor Ely, "about the same time, passed a couple of laborers, as he was walking by Mr. Vanderbilt's new houses on Fifth Avenue. Some kind of bronze-work, I believe, was being carried in; and he heard one of them remark, savagely, 'The time will come when that will be melted by fire!'"* Multiply these incidents by ten thousand, fifty, one hundred thousand. Scatter such men in considerable numbers through our large cities, from San Francisco to New York, from Galveston to Boston. Is there any peril? We are not now concerned as to whether this feeling is unreasonable or otherwise, wicked or the contrary. We are concerned to know whether this feeling exists.

One of the most significant circumstances in connection with this social agitation is the number of periodicals, dailies, weeklies, monthlies, advocating labor rights, or avowedly socialistic, that with increasing circulation are springing up in most unlooked-for places, not only in Chicago and New York, but in New Hampshire, Colorado, and Texas. A paper in Dallas, Texas,† was styled "The Tocsin, a Herald of the Coming

* "French and German Socialism," p. 26.

† Recently suspended.

Revolution," and it sent forth with wild clangor no uncertain war call. Starkweather and Wilson, in their tract,* give a list of thirty-three papers, sixteen socialistic, nine semi-socialistic, and eight socialistically inclined. This list is not by any means complete.† Some of the papers represent violent revolutionary principles. Take a few specimen utterances: "Heaven is a dream invented by robbers to distract the attention of the victims of their brigandage." "When the laboring-men understand that the heaven which they are promised hereafter is but a mirage, they will knock at the door of the wealthy robber, with a musket in hand, and demand a share of the goods of this life, now." "Hurrah for science! hurrah for dynamite! the power which in our hands shall make an end of tyranny." In "Truth," formerly of San Francisco, one might read such sentences as these: "'Truth' is five cents a copy, and dynamite forty cents a pound." "Every trades-union and assembly ought to pick its best men, and form them into classes for the study of chemistry." "War to the palace, peace to the cottage, death to luxurious idleness!" "We have no moment to waste. Arm! I say, to the teeth! for the revolution is upon you!" Says another journal: "It does not at all appear so terrible to us, when laborers occasionally raise their arm, and lay low one and another of this clique of robbers and murderers." Another issue of the same journal calmly discusses the circumstances in which it would be justifiable to kill men like Gould or Vanderbilt: "If a railroad accident should happen in consequence of the clearly proved criminal greed of these monopolists, and many men should be killed or crippled thereby, and the jury should as usual pronounce the real criminals, Vanderbilt or Gould, 'not guilty,' and the husband or father of one of the killed or one of the crippled should arise and obtain justice for himself in the massacre of these monsters, a cry of joy would resound through the whole land, and no jury would sentence the righteous executioner. Whether one uses dynamite, a revolver, or a rope, is a matter of indifference."

* "Socialism," by Starkweather and Wilson.

† Nor is the classification accurate. For the "Journal of United Labor," the organ of the Knights of Labor, is placed in the first class, while it is not to be classed with Socialism at all. Prof. Ely estimates that there are probably five hundred of these labor-journals.

Take another specimen from a German paper of Chicago called "Die Fackel," The Torch, and whose name is printed in letters of flame on a background of fire and smoke: "Judge Lynch is the best and cheapest court in the land; and when the sense of justice in the people once awakes, may the Judge hold court in every place, for nowhere is there a lack of unchanged honorables and prominent sharps."

Or take another from Most's "Die Freiheit," in an article on "Revolutionary Principles": "The revolutionist has no personal interest, concerns, feelings or inclinations; no property, not even a name. Everything in him is swallowed up by the one exclusive interest, by the one single thought, by the one single passion—the revolution. The revolutionist despises all dogmas, and renounces the science of the present world, which he leaves for future generations. He knows only one science, namely, destruction. For this purpose and for this alone he studies, mechanics, physics, chemistry and possibly also medicine. For this purpose he studies day and night living science—men, characters, relations, as well as the conditions of the present social order in all its ramifications. He despises public opinion. He despises and hates the present social morality in all its leadings and in all its manifestations. For him everything is moral which proves the triumph of the revolution, everything immoral and criminal which hinders it. For him there is only one pleasure, one comfort, one recompense—the success of the revolution. Day and night may he cherish only one thought, only one purpose, viz., inexorable destruction."

Or take a specimen from "John Swinton's Paper," which is classed as semi-socialistic. The extract is from a reprint of an interview between Mr. Swinton and a reporter, published in the Brooklyn "Union": "Reporter—Do you think, Mr. Swinton, that we shall have in this country a revolution growing out of the troubles between capital and labor, or that there will be only spasmodic excitements in different parts of the Union, to be settled promptly by arbitration or otherwise? Swinton—Now we get into the realm of prophecy. My friend, Henry Rochefort, remarked, 'In France the revolution that is predicted never happens'; and the mere fact that there is a general apprehension of a

social earthquake would be apt to lead me to doubt its coming. Yet, notwithstanding, I do feel the ground trembling, and do hear sounds as though there might be something roaring in the under world. Let us trust in the merits of our holy-water sprinkling-pots. Let us trust in that sweet young thing called the ballot. Let us have faith in that cobweb called reason. Let us swing ourselves out on the hopes of democracy. Let us go up in the lovely balloons of faith. In short, let us be merry. I guess, on the whole, these volcanic fires will yet give the world a larger taste than Pompeii had. Reporter—And is this going to be immediate? Swinton—Well, things do happen so unprovided for in this queer old planet of ours—the king waving the tricolor to-day, the guillotine on the Place de la Concorde to-morrow. The May of 1877 in our own country, lambent and calm; July of 1877 over one hundred thousand militia under arms against railroad revolts; Pittsburg echoing to Scranton; the tramp resounding from San Francisco to New York. No man knows the dawn of to-morrow. God knows. Be ye ready, for in such an hour as ye know not, the tornado cometh.”*

July, 1877, is a red-letter era to the Anarchist-Socialist. He claims that the first 1877 took him unawares, but that he “will be armed to the teeth and ready for the second, which ushers in the dawn of a new civilization.” Listen! “Get ready for another 1877—buy a musket for a repetition of 1877.” “Buy dynamite for another 1877.” “Organize companies and drill for a recurrence of the riots of 1877.” “We have shown too much mercy in the past. Our generous pity has cost us our cause. Let us be relentless in the coming struggle.” “Truth,” in 1883, quoted with approval the words of a French Socialist, to this effect: “We have the right, we have the power; defend it, employ it without reserve, without remorse, without scruples, without mercy! War to the extreme, to the knife! A question of life or death for one of the two shall rest on the spot. . . . For the good of the people, iron and fire. All arms are human, all forces legitimate, all means sacred. We desire peace, the enemy wants war.

* Mr. Swinton is not to be classed with the Anarchists. He is only an outspoken advocate of his own conception of justice to labor.

He may have it absolutely. Killing, burning, all means are justifiable. Use them ; then there will be peace." These things are said, written, printed, widely published, eagerly read. Where? In Germany, France, Austria, handcuffed Russia? Similar things are printed and read there. But these things are said here in America. These are indications of the temper, not of one or two, or a dozen or a hundred, but, according to the most careful estimates, the temper of at least fifty thousand men. This is the Internationalist's temper.

The Labor-Socialist does not talk quite in this fashion. This is what he says. I quote from his own manifesto: "We must expect that our enemies—when they see our power increase in a peaceful and legal way and approaching victory—will on their part become rebels, just as once did the slaveholders, and that then the time will come for the cause of labor, when that old prime lever of all revolutions, force, must be applied, in order to place the working masses in control of the State, which then for the first time will be the representative, not of a few privileged classes, but of all society. We surely do not participate in the folly of these men, who consider dynamite bombs the best means of agitation to produce the greatest revolution that transpired in the social life of mankind. We know very well that a revolution in the brains of men and the economical conditions of society must precede ere a lasting success can be obtained in the interest of the working classes."* The Labor-Socialist is striving to educate leaders, who shall guide the masses in the inevitable coming strife, and prevent the new revolution from sharing the fate of its French progenitor, and from being captured by the capitalists. Says a writer, on the whole so peaceable as Mr. Gronlund: "Revolt after revolt may be put down, as '77 was put down. But in the fullness of time we shall not be put down. Then is the time for the energetic Socialist minority to exert its influence. There is nothing that the people in such a crisis hail more, nothing that they hunger and thirst more after than definite solutions." Mr. Gronlund then refers to Bulwer's satire, "The Coming Race," with its "Vril," which, stored in a small wand and skillfully

* Quoted from Ely's "Recent American Socialism," p. 49.

wielded, can "rend rocks, remove any natural obstacles, scatter the strongest fortress, and make the weak a perfect match for any combination of number, skill and discipline." "What is this 'Vril,'" asks Mr. Gronlund, "but a poetic anticipation of the civilizing power of that real energetic substance which we call dynamite?"*

This is the temper of the Labor-Socialist. He represents, according to the lowest estimate, twenty-five thousand men. These seventy-five thousand Socialists of all types are not brutes, not fiends, not men who delight in blood. I do not believe the portrait in the "Century"† is typical. I have met Socialists, but none such as he. I do not believe that the Socialist is described by the old jingle :

"What is a Communist? One who hath yearnings
For equal division of unequal earnings.
Idler or bungler, or both, he is willing
To fork out his penny and pocket your shilling."

No ! no ! Let us not deceive ourselves with any such notion. Mistaken as he is, the Socialist is not a fool. He has a philosophy whose roots go deeply into the history of human thought. Socialism is a religion to him. It is his Gospel for the race. It stirs him with a passionate enthusiasm for humanity. It makes him a missionary. He preaches his Gospel wherever he goes ;—quietly, secretly often, lest for his religion he lose his bread ; but he always preaches. He is intensely proselyting in his spirit. He uses the platform. He uses the press. No more leaves, scattered by loving hands, go forth from the rooms of the various tract societies than go forth from the centers of the Socialist propaganda. The more than one million workingmen, organized in trade societies, and the millions of the unorganized workers are the field for the propaganda. Socialist hearts are many among the laborers. Socialist heads are becoming more numerous. Socialist drill-rooms exist, where gather to learn the arts of war not men who love blood and murder, but men with sympathetic hearts, inspired by a fallacious philosophy, which has become a re-

* Gronlund, "Co-oper. Com.," pp. 274, 275.

† "Century Magazine," November, 1865.

ligion, and who believe that revolution, peaceable if it may be, forcible if it must be, is the imperative demand in the interests of humanity. "To help to evolve a new social order, which is struggling, convulsively struggling, to be born, is an end grand enough to fill the noblest soul with the most ardent zeal." *

This is the temper of Socialism. That it is a philosophy ; that it is a religion ; that it has fascination for humane minds ; that it can break down race antagonisms, and become international, subordinating patriotism to a scope of enterprise that includes all countries ; that it can fan the sparks of discontent into flames of revolt ; that it is intensely propagandist ;—this is both its power and its menace. Is it a peril impending, not for Germany and France and England so much as for America ? Here, where in the condition of the working classes there is the least possible justification for social revolution, is there, perchance, the greatest likelihood that revolution will be attempted ?

Let us ask ourselves some plain questions. Is it a fact that Socialism, coming no matter whence, is here, and to the extent of seventy or seventy-five thousand avowed adherents ? Is it a fact that many labor organizations are only "training-schools," which "educate the laborers up to Socialism ?" Is it a fact that for many years a multitude of foreigners have been coming to our shores ; that while many of these foreigners are intelligent, many are ignorant ; that while many are moral, some are vicious ; that while many are industrious and rank among our best citizens, some, already paupers, go to swell the pauper class ? Is it a fact that the acquisition of property by the Socialist immigrant does not always take out of him, indeed, rarely takes out of him, the Socialist spirit ingrained from his childhood ? Is it a fact that many of these immigrants, coming from under the repressive rule of a despotic Church or a misgoverned State, are, on tasting the sweets of freedom, tempted to turn liberty into license ? Is it a fact that, after a few years' residence, these immigrants, many of them wholly unaccustomed to political power, are endowed with all the prerogatives of political power ? Is it a

* Gronlund,

fact that, as an English writer puts it, "The United States of America are a great alembic, into which the emigrant vessels of Europe are constantly pouring a vast quantity of unknown, doubtful, and even explosive materials ; and her arduous task is to separate obstinacy from English courage, superstition from French thrift, indolence from Irish shrewdness, want of enterprise from Scandinavian industry, and indifference from Chinese skill and patience ?" * Is it a fact in our political life that many of our administrative methods have been wickedly wasteful, and much of our legislation blindly blundering ? Is it a fact that many a man has been placed in high position of executive or legislative trust, not because he had more intelligence, more capacity, more statesmanship than his fellows, but because he owned a "barrel" ? Is it a fact that votes are bought at the polls as sheep are bought in the shambles ? Is it a fact that such things as "pocket boroughs" are to be found in America ? Is it a fact that judges are sometimes chosen that they may pervert justice in the interest of individuals or rings, like as Mr. Tweed controlled Cardozo ; even as, according to the "New York Times," Mr. Jay Gould has furnished the ermine which clothes Mr. Justice — ? Is it a fact that, in many cities, laws are not enforced because the authorities are afraid of the voters ? Is it a fact that Societies for Law and Order, for the suppression of vice, for the enforcement of laws against liquor-selling, cruelty to animals, cruelty to children and the like, are very insulting though very necessary protests against the inefficiency, and the complicity with scoundrels, of the powers that be ? Is it a fact that in some cities the Government is in the hands of the criminal classes ? Is it a fact that in our large cities there are always multitudes of thieves and loiterers, who are ready to take advantage of any labor difficulty, to foment the violence, and rapine that all honest workmen deprecate and seek to avoid ? † Is it a fact that in case of a riot the local authorities usually temporize with the mob, out of respect to the next election, until the trouble is beyond control ? Is it a fact that

* "Old World Questions and New World Answers," from Preface.

† The late riots in London were promoted neither by Socialist nor by non-Socialist workmen, but by criminals.

modern science has put into the hands of angered men the most terribly destructive agency known to history—an agency that in an hour may reduce to ruins the growth of all the centuries? Is it a fact that there are influences at work among us which, with reason or without reason, are fanning the flames of discontent? Is it a fact that much of our legislation, State and national, has been directly in the interest of wealth, and secured by the lobby pressure of capital? Is it a fact that we have given away vast empires to railroad corporations, and enabled these corporations and their associated monopolies to dictate to the national Land Office,* and, perhaps, to control the American Senate and many of the State Legislatures? Is it a fact that there are dangerous classes in our community—not the convicts, not the paupers, but men high up on the social ladder, whose gambling schemes of greed and grab are a blight upon all fair, honest industry, the devouring of social substance, the robbery of the poor? Are these things facts?

Note, now, what Roscher says as to the conditions which promote Socialism: 1. A well-defined confrontation of rich and poor. 2. A high degree of the division of labor, by which, on the one hand, the mutual dependence of man on man grows ever greater, but by which, at the same time, the eye of the uncultured man becomes less and less able to perceive the connection existing between merit and reward, or service and remuneration. 3. A violent shaking or perplexing of public opinion in its relation to the feeling of right, by revolutions, especially when they follow rapidly one on the heels of another. 4. Aspirations on the part of the working classes in consequence of a democratic constitution. 5. A general decay of religion and morality among the people. Do any, or several of these conditions exist in America?†

Is revolutionary Socialism an impending peril? As an accomplished reconstruction of society on the basis of the socialistic ideal, No! I do not believe that by any revolution,

* Art., "Railway Influence in the Land Office," G. W. Julian, "N. A. Rev.," vol. 136, pp. 454-466.

† "Principles of Political Economy." William Roscher. Vol. ii, pp. 237-240.

or by any evolution, the socialist state will ever have a thorough trial. I do not believe that when intelligent workingmen themselves come to understand the fatal paralysis that Socialism will fix upon industrial progress, they will give a moment's support to its revolutionary demands. But Socialism is here. It finds favorable soil in many of the conditions of our American life. Some criminal and riotous outbreak may be its longed-for opportunity. Its encouragement to crime, for the sake of freedom, may incite the already violent to deeds of blood, and turn even peace-loving philosophers into incarnate demons. Once summon the spirits of discord, and set them on the work of wasting property, burning dwellings, destroying institutions, and who shall call them off from their terrible work? Once unchain the tiger, and give him taste of slaughter, and who shall slake his thirst for blood? Another 1877 may be the prelude to another 1793. Peril does impend. Dangers do menace. Let us not be pessimists. Let us not be croaking birds of ill-omen. Let us "believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth." But any thoughtful man is challenged to go into these dark forests of industrial agitation, all entangled as they are, with bad political and social conditions, and to come out with his heart filled with lightness, and his lips wreathed with smiles. Those were sober words of Laveleye: "The enduring triumph of a violent Socialist revolution is impossible. Nevertheless, as Nihilism, like burning lava, seethes throughout the underground strata of society, and there keeps up a sort of diabolical destroying rage, it is possible that in some crisis, where authority is powerless, and repressive force paralyzed, the predictions of Hegessippe Moreau and Maxime du Camp may be realized, and we may see our capitals ravaged by dynamite and petroleum in a more ruthless and more systematic manner than even that which Paris experienced at the hands of the Commune."* God rules. But even He has permitted a nation's ruin, to be His judgment on a nation's sins.

What is to be done? There are several ways in which we may meet these urgent issues. We may use force. At the first sign of violence we must use force. An iron hand for

* "Socialism of To-Day," p. xliv.

the first invader of the public peace ! "They who take the sword shall perish by the sword." But you will never uproot this trouble by force. Says Mr. Thorold Rogers, "Force could extinguish discontent for a time, but the extinguisher would have to be hired, and would in the end itself take fire."* Bismarck tried force of legislation, and his answer was a large increase of Socialistic delegates to the Reichstag.

We may meet the claims of discontent with harsh and bitter words. We may say : "Who are these fellows ; idle, incapable, good-for-nothings ; what do they want ? Why should they want anything ? Always trumping up some new demand ; always airing some new grievance ! Out of my way !" Like the Roman Prætor, when the gladiator begged for the body of his dead friend, we may draw back as if they were pollution, and say sternly : "Let the carrion rot ! There are no noble men but Romans." Like the haughty French peer, when the cries for bread of the hungry populace rang in his ears, we may say, "Let the cattle eat grass !" But the method is hardly safe, to say nothing of its inhumanity and Christlessness. Not only does it hurt and wound men, but it angers them—justly so. It widens the breach. It alienates social classes. It maddens men, makes them defiant, desperate, dangerous. Nor ought we to forget that a disastrous servile insurrection followed the Prætor's insult to the gladiator ; and that the French noble's head, with a blade of grass between the teeth, was borne upon a pike as the banner of a *sans-culotte* procession.

We may treat these matters with unconcern, refusing to examine them and to discuss them, saying, "There is nothing in them, they are only eddies in the current, not the sweep of a tide." On the Mississippi River two steamers were racing. One of them rapidly forged ahead of its competitor. The spray flew from its prow. The water was churned by its revolving wheels. An officer in alarm rushed below and found that the engineer had gone mad, had filled the furnaces with rosin, and was bestriding the safety-valve, to keep it down ! Indifference, refusal to discuss, the Philistinism that soothes itself with the narcotic cry, "Peace, peace," when there is no

* "Work and Wages," p. 525.

peace—this is the stark lunatic that bestrides the valve of social safety, while other hands that well know what they do and why they do it, are heaping all combustibles upon the furnace-fires ! Peril ! Here indeed is peril ! “The chief danger,” said Dr. Newman Smyth, “is not that a few fiends let loose from the hell of the sins of civilization shall suddenly blow up the works of ages of progress. But it is, rather, that actual wrongs shall be pent up beneath our civilization, and not ventilated in open discussion ; and thus, what, if exposed to the free air and sunlight might have been harmless, shall slowly gather destructive energy and become a menace to our social order.”* Not force, not bitter, cruel words, not indifference ! Nay ! nay ! These help nothing ! These increase disturbance and portend disaster ! Rather let us inquire, study, discuss. If men have grievances, let us listen to them. If there have been rank injustices, let us at least try to discover them and seek to remove them. If there is a truth in Socialism, let us grasp it for ourselves and turn it to the largest social advantage. This is precisely what the Anarchists do not want. Says “Truth” in 1884, speaking of the indiscriminate use of dynamite : “Its effect would be directly reactionary. Either it would induce repressive laws abrogating the rights we have now, which permit us to spread our doctrines, or it would wring from the fears of the *bourgeoisie* such ameliorative measures as might postpone for centuries the work of complete emancipation.” Well, somehow, even for fear, yet better for love, let us give ourselves to finding out what ameliorative measures are needed. Believing in God, let us believe in men. Let us help men to believe in each other. Let us open men’s hearts to each other. Beneath the fine linen or the rags, under the clean skin of him who toils with his brain or the grimy fingers of him who toils with his hands, let us find the real humanity, the essential manhood of men, the manhood capable of all love, of all nobleness, of all divine uplift. And

“Let us pray that come it may,
As come it will, for a’ that,
That sense and worth, o’er a’ the earth,
May bear the gree and a’ that.

* “Social Problems,” p. 6.

For a' that, and a' that,
It's coming yet, for a' that,
That man to man the warld o'er
Shall brothers be, for a' that." *

Woe is unto those who invoke catastrophe in the hope of accidental improvement ! Woe to those who with the foot of violence shall set in motion the stone of revolution over the precipice beneath which humanity is walking !† Woe to those who, as Mill has said, "have such a serene confidence in their own wisdom and such a recklessness of other people's sufferings—which Robespierre and St. Just, hitherto the only typical instances of those united attributes, scarcely came up to—that they play this game of revolution on their own private opinion, unconfirmed as yet by any experimental verification !" But woe, woe, woe, will be also unto us—to us to whom have been given minds to think, hearts to feel, influence to exert—if we fail to heed the beacon warnings that flame along the hill-tops of history, from the days of Rome's downfall to the Parisian Tophet-horrors of '93 !

* Robert Burns.

† "Principles and Fallacies of Socialism," by David J. Hill. Lovell's Library, No. 533, pp. 93, 96.

CHAPTER VI.

ERRORS IN SOCIALISM.

"Discontent accepts ludicrous and even suicidal paradoxes."—*James E. Thorold Rogers*.

"Socialists do not sufficiently realize that, in order to arrive at a better order of things, the men who are called to establish and maintain it must themselves be made better, and that the first step is to purify and elevate current ideas as to duty and right."—*Emile de Laveleye*.

WE have reached a point in these discussions where we may put some searching questions to the giant of philosophic and practical discontent, who has been looming up so frowningly and dangerously before us. This giant has spoken for himself. With his own words he has thundered forth his social indictment, and in his chosen phrases he has formulated his revolutionary demands. We have been patient listeners. If Socialism is a peril, there is surely no harm, but advantage, in knowing precisely what Socialism is, and precisely wherein the peril consists. A danger concealed, and blindly opposed, is not likely to be a danger wisely opposed or successfully overcome. If, to some of you, it has seemed that too large a place has been given to the Socialist's side of this controversy, and that principles have been clearly stated around which, by means of the statement, hitherto vague and ignorant discontent may crystallize, you are reminded that if anybody has received information, the Socialist has not. If anybody has been surprised at thoughts presented, it has not been the Socialist. He already knew these things. They are the substance of his common literature. The phrases that may have startled you are very familiar phrases in every Socialist club and many a labor assembly. The assertion is ventured, without fear of

contradiction, that if one thousand average workingmen and an equal number from the so-called better educated classes are compared, it will be found that those who have read, discussed and formed very decided opinions on economic questions, will be fifty per cent greater in number among the workingmen than among the other class. The Socialist side of the case has been presented in so full a manner, not only for the sake of fairness in discussion, but for the sake of information to many, not workingmen, who have given little thought to these matters and who are quite inadequately informed concerning them.

We need information, not only that we may avoid danger, but that we may do our duty. It will never do to presume upon the ignorance of workingmen. In 1833, M. Persil, Procureur-Général, of the Court of Paris, wrote, "It would be risking everything if we were to let the workingmen realize their own position." * The explosion in Paris, in 1848, revealed to astonished France that the workingmen knew a great deal more as to their own position than they had been credited with knowing. There is one side of their case about which we need not take special pains to inform them. The special pains need to be taken to inform ourselves.

Well, here is this giant. We have given him fair and full speech, but none too fair or too full, for his sake or for our own. We now propose to dissect him ; to find out, if we can, what he is made of. We propose to study his anatomy, his bones, muscles, nerves. We must try to ascertain how much of him is fiction and how much fact ; where he is made up of a falsehood, where of half-truth, and where of whole truth. It is to be hoped that our giant will be substantially spoiled by this process, or rather, that he will be transformed into a beneficent force for wider and more wholesome social activity.

What, then, are some of the errors, fallacies, untruths, half-truths, which, to our thinking, underlie all Socialistic indictments and demands ? The chief occasion of error on the part of the workingman's advocates has been that they have followed too blindly the leading of the so-called orthodox

* See "Principles of Social Economy." Yves Guyot. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1884, p. 181.

school of political economy. And until within our own generation the majority of writers on economic questions have pursued a method largely unscientific. Instead of inducing their systems from the widest possible examination of all ascertained facts, they have deduced their systems from assumed principles. They have sought to shape facts by the theory instead of questioning the facts to get the theory. And these theories, many of which have no foundation in fact, have been borrowed and perverted, and sometimes badly twisted, and repeated by writers like Marx, Lassalle and George, until it is doubtful if the authors of the theories could recognize them. Now, it certainly is not a wise method for reaching truth, to start with an assumption, and then even to pervert the assumption. Yet as the gross materialism of the young Hegelian philosophy has been the hammer, and admitted evils in social condition the fire with which the armorers of industrial agitation have wrought, so the fallacies, or the misconceived and misstated truths of the older political economists have been the iron out of which have been forged the arrow-heads, the spears and swords, which have been hurled with fiercest assault against the entire structure of modern civilization.

Take that most fundamental assumption, on which the entire philosophy of discontent is based, that "labor is the creator of all wealth and all civilization." The argument is this : "All wealth is due to labor, therefore to the laborer all wealth is due." The assumed premise is that all wealth is due to labor, that all wealth is the creation of labor. Now, if by labor is meant any sort of effort, mental or physical, by whose forth-putting some want is satisfied, even then the proposition would not be wholly true. But this is not the assumed definition of labor. By labor the workingman's advocate usually means physical exertion, muscular effort, including only such necessary mental force as is exerted by the same man who makes the muscular effort. It is the intelligence, plus the muscle, of the one man, whose brain and muscle combine in physical force, that in this assumption defines labor. For this narrow definition, Adam Smith and Ricardo are responsible. To be sure, the Socialist reasoners carry this definition far beyond the intention of its authors. What did these authors really say ? Smith said, "Labor was the first price, the origi-

nal purchase money which was paid for all things."* That is true. He further said, "In that early and rude state of society which precedes the accumulation of stock and the appropriation of land, the proportion between the quantities of labor necessary for acquiring different objects seems to be the only circumstance which can afford any rule for exchanging them for one another."† Now, mark the words, "the first price," "that early and rude state of society." Undoubtedly Smith would have recognized a wide distinction between barbarism and civilization. But he blundered, as many economists have, by trying to argue at all from what was true in a savage and simple condition of society up to what is true in a civilized and very complex condition of society. And even in savage conditions, where the first labor must be with the hands, Smith's definition is inadequate. Two men spend the day in hunting. They are occupied the same number of hours, walk the same number of miles, expend the same amount of physical energy. One kills a rabbit, the other a deer. At night they meet for barter. Will they trade even? Will the man give the deer, food for a week and clothing too, for the rabbit, which is only food for a day and possibly a pair of mittens? Yet the labor-cost of the deer and the labor-cost of the rabbit are identical. Their value is far from identical. Clearly, then, even in so simple a case, labor is not the sole creator of the wealth represented by the deer, when that wealth is seven times greater than the wealth represented by the rabbit—wealth, created at the very same labor-cost.‡

Take Ricardo. He said, "Labor is the foundation of all value."§ But is there no difference between the foundation and the building? Because labor is foundation, is labor there-

* "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations." Adam Smith. London: Ward, Lock & Tyler, p. 23.

† "Wealth of Nations," p. 36.

‡ See "The Labor-Value Fallacy." M. L. Scudder, Jr. Chicago: Janson, McClurg & Co., 1884. "Elements of Economics." Henry Dunning McLeod. Vol. ii, part 1. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1886, p. 213.

§ The works of David Ricardo, edited by J. R. McCulloch. London: John Murray, 1846, p. 10. Ricardo's language is, "That this—labor—is really the foundation of the exchangeable value of all things, excepting those which can not be increased by human industry," etc.

fore always superstructure? And, if you limit the meaning of labor to mere physical effort, is labor always even the foundation of value? A man writes a book. It is printed, bound, sold. It becomes wealth. What is the foundation of that wealth? The hand-labor of printer and binder, or the brain-labor of the author? If the printer and binder make the wealth, why is not the money value of a number of Patent-Office reports equal to the money value of a corresponding number of Dickens's novels on which equivalent physical labor has been expended? Everybody knows that these values are not equal. Then everybody ought to know that physical labor alone is not even the foundation of value, much less the superstructure. Labor is not the sole creator of value. The garrison at Fort Sumter has lowered the national flag. All over the North men spring to their feet with war in their eye. Tell them to go to fighting. Tell them there is iron in the mines out of which they may make guns and bullets. Tell them to find guns and fight. Nay, you do not do this. You set your factories and your foundries to work. You organize transportation. You form men into squads, companies, regiments, brigades, divisions, army corps. You hunt up and set in position your Thomases, Shermans, Sheridans, Grants. There is victory at last—slavery abolished, Union restored, nationality established. Who did it? Every man who fought in the field or who counseled in the Cabinet helped to do it. But if you tell the men who followed Grant to Appomattox, and who marched with slow step and tear-filled eyes after his funeral car, that the creation of this splendid wealth of national supremacy was the sole work of army labor, they will indignantly repudiate your claim and assert that, in making it possible for the army to do its work, in organizing, in planning, in leading, in creating conditions essential to success, the great commander held a unique place, as the co-operant creator, with the army of the final result, which wrought for him a place, a fame, a reward peculiarly his own. Is any soldier poorer in honor because Grant was so rich in honor?*

Labor, physical labor, the sole creator of wealth? No! In

* "The Wages Question." Francis A. Walker. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1876, p. 246.

our complex industry, there are manifold co-ordinate elements. When you have poured into the witch's caldron of production material, capital, land, invention, organization, oversight, physical labor, and have stirred them all up together until they come forth finished product, who shall measure accurately the exact proportion which each has contributed to the final result? * Is labor, physical labor, to say, "It is all mine; here or back through the ages, I, undirected, unorganized, spending all, and saving nothing, I created all capital, all invention, all oversight; all wealth is due to me, labor, therefore to me, labor, all wealth is due?" Shall labor say this? Labor has said this.† But to make such a claim is to make a claim wholly irrational, fallacious, unjust. Workingmen ought to rid themselves of this fallacy. They ought to distrust the men who make parrot-like reiteration of it. Labor is essential to production; physical labor is a necessary, inevitable factor in production. But capital, oversight, invention, all the work of head and heart that goes to improve social conditions and make them intelligent and wholesome, have their share in creation, and must have their full share in the product. The rights of workmen are too real and too important to all social welfare for their assertion to be based upon a falsehood.

Yet upon this notion that labor is the sole creator of wealth, Karl Marx built up his whole theory of capital, and his whole indictment against the capitalist classes, as the robbers of the just rewards of labor. He said: In six hours the laborer can earn all that he needs for his own sustenance. Every hour of labor beyond that is so much toward the enrichment of the master, who is a thief for taking such enrichment. "Look," said he, "at these homes of luxury, these carriages, these machines, these palaces of industry. These are yours. These are the product of your unrequited toil. These are the things of

* "The State in Relation to Labor." W. Stanley Jevons. London: Macmillan & Co., 1882, p. 91.

† "Labor being the creator of all wealth and civilization, etc." Manifesto of Socialistic Labor Party. Baltimore, 1883.

"All wealth is due to labor: therefore to the laborer all wealth is due." "Socialism made plain." By H. M. Hyndman. Quoted in "Property and Progress." By W. H. Mallock. London: John Murray, 1884, p. 98.

which you have been fleeced." But look you, workingmen ! I toil, earn, save. With the saved earnings which are mine, I buy a lot ; with other saved earnings I have a shop built ; with other earnings, or by my own labor, I set up machines. You go by, one, a dozen of you. You inspect my shop. You reason with yourselves. Here is an opportunity for us to earn, by five or six hours' work, what we could not so well earn in the way of food, clothes, shelter, and various comforts, by twelve hours' work, in fishing the stream, or plowing the ground, or tramping the woods. We will work here ! Yes, but this is mine ! You are not beggars, are you ? You do not expect me to give over to you the use of what is mine without any compensation for that use ? You are not thieves, are you ? You are not going to demand by stealth or by force that I relinquish to your unremunerative control what is mine ? Of course you are neither beggars nor thieves, but self-respecting, honest men. You bargain with me. You say, for the use of your land, house, machines, materials, your knowledge and time in oversight and in the transfer of the product to the consumer, we will give you so many hours of our work. That is a square bargain, is it not ? I may take advantage of you, to be sure. I may charge you too many hours' work for the opportunity I grant you. But if I do I suffer in the long run, somehow, either in purse or in character. But the principle of an agreement to get from you in labor for me, some equivalent for what I grant you in opportunity for yourselves, is not a wrong principle, is it ? There is no robbery, no fleecing, no exploiting in the principle ? Well, that principle, complicated a thousand-fold, is the principle of the relation existing between employer and employed, and between what is technically called capital and what is technically called labor.

As things are, labor is not the sole creator of wealth. If a man is not a savage, something besides his own labor enters into the wealth that is produced and in which he is to have a share. All honest dealing is giving something for something, not getting something for nothing. If you do not complain of the man who asks you twenty-five cents for a pound of butter, or of the man who asks you a fair recompense for letting you occupy a house which he has erected, why complain of him who asks profits, or interest, or rent, or all combined, as

his return for the opportunity he furnishes to you of earning the wages by which you live? We are not dealing now with the abuses of this principle. We are not asking whether the dividend of the joint product in profits is too great, or the dividend in wages too small, or whether the workingman never pays too much for the privilege. We only assert that he must pay something, unless he be his own employer; that the combined product of capital and organizer and laborer is not the product, the creation, of the laborer alone, and therefore that this product does not belong to labor alone. Profits are not robbery. Rent is not robbery. Interest is not robbery. The sum total of them all is not fleecings from labor. Capital, on the whole, does not grow by such fleecings. The laborer is not the only working bee in the social hive on whose gathered honey the employing drones and their hangers-on grow fat, while the real honey-bee is shriveled with starvation. All that distinguishes the industries and the toiling masses of Europe and America from the barbarism of the African Continent exists because of the existence of these much-maligned drones. The sooner honest workingmen who do not ask something for nothing desert the fallacious and misleading and thieving standards of Proudhon and Marx the better it will be for them and for society. All wealth is not the creation of him who labors with his hands, nor in any true sense the creation of any sort of labor standing alone, and therefore to him who labors all wealth is not due.*

Take the so-called terrible "iron law of wages," formulated by Ricardo, after Adam Smith, and used with such arousing and vindictive fury by Lassalle. Now Lassalle did not understand Ricardo, or if he did, he misrepresented his meaning. Lassalle said: "According to Ricardo the average of wages is fixed by the absolute necessities of life." Ricardo did say: "The natural price of labor depends on the price of food, necessities and conveniences required for the support of the laborer and his family." "Necessaries and conveniences" is quite a different thing from "the absolute necessities of life."

* Much stress needs to be laid on this matter. It is a fallacy most dangerous because most fundamental. Several allusions will be made to it hereafter.

But Ricardo further said : " It is not to be understood that the natural price of labor, estimated by necessities, is absolutely fixed and constant. It varies at the same time in the same country, and very naturally differs in different countries. It essentially depends on the habits and customs of the people." But Lassalle knew no variations, no exceptions. Down to the lowest possible level the iron law was continually grinding the worker. Such was his teaching. Now the fact is that Ricardo's law itself is no law.* It is an assumption. Facts do not confirm it. Even Marx confessed that the Ricardian law was not a complete explanation of the phenomena of wages. Yet unconscious sophist as he was, he continues, after such a confession, to argue as if the law were a complete explanation. If there were any such law, then those countries where wages are the lowest in relation to subsistence, ought to be the countries where profits are the largest, and wealth the most accumulated. Is this a fact? Is it not rather the fact that the two richest countries of the world are England and America, where workingmen are, on the whole, of all other workingmen, the best conditioned and the best remunerated?† There is no Ricardian law of wages except under certain bad conditions which are in the direct control of the workingmen themselves. The law as stated is a fallacy. The true limits between which wages play are, on the one hand, the most that the employer, considering all industrial conditions, can afford to give, and on the other hand, the lowest that the laborer, considering his condition, can afford to take.‡ Lassalle's fallacy, based upon a partial statement of the Ricardian fallacy, must

* " No writer, in my opinion, is to a greater extent responsible for the false methods which have denaturalized the treatment of political economy and rendered it a horror to ordinary readers, than Ricardo." " The Economy of Consumption." By Robert Scott Moffatt. London : C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1878, p. 223.

† " This proposition of Ricardo is as false as the law of Malthus from which it is derived (though Malthus refuted it). In basing his theory of profits on the fall of wages, he commits a manifest error; for if his theory were true, profits would rise in proportion to the poverty of laborers, and the richest manufacturers would be found in the poorest countries." Guyot's " Principles of Social Economy," p. 174.

‡ Rae's " Contemporary Socialism," p. 337.

be a very thorough fallacy indeed. Yet it is one of the chief instruments of the Socialist agitator, for stirring up the workman's wrath against the so-called tyranny of capital.

Take the famous "law of rent!" O, the monster! the thief! the highwayman! Is he all that, this rent-taker? Some rent-takers may be all that, because they are thieves in spirit, not because they are rent-takers. The taking of rent for land is no more a robbery than is the taking of price for clothing and food a robbery. We can not argue this question at length. In brief, Ricardo's theory of rent was a fallacy.* Mill's notion that agricultural rents are always rising, while production from land is always decreasing, is a very dangerous and very erroneous notion. The premise of all these assumptions, that the most fertile land is first occupied, then the less fertile, is a premise wholly reversed by the facts.† The most accessible and available lands are first occupied. The most fertile lands of the world are yet awaiting occupancy.‡ Rent is no monopoly, no robbery. This is not to say that some changes may not be expedient in the system of land tenure. That is a question open to discussion. But the right of private property in land is not a question open to discussion. To deny this right is to deny the course of history. To forbid this right would be robbery by revolution; a robbery which honest people, when intelligently informed, will not care to promote. The landlord is not the monstrous oppressor of both capital and labor that Mr. George accuses him of being. Landed capital has not begun to rise in value in the same proportion as have other forms of capital. In England, where land is certainly held in some very oppressive forms, the gross income from landed property in 1878 was £49,000,000, while for the same year the gross income from industries and commerce was £250,000,000. Between the years 1849 and 1878, the value

* "The theory was based on the supposition that the earth was created solely for man's use, and that man had only to occupy it for it to bear him what he wanted." Guyot's "Principles of Social Economy," p. 218. See criticism of Ricardo's theory, R. S. Moffatt, "Economy of Consumption," pp. 229, etc.

† The first statement of the modern theory of rent was made in a pamphlet by James Anderson, a Scotch farmer, entitled, "Inquiry into the Nature of the Corn Laws." Edinburgh, 1777.

‡ "Guyot," p. 219, 220.

of the gross income from landed property had increased twenty-four per cent, while for the same period the value of gross income from industries and commerce had increased two hundred and nine per cent.* The right of a man to own land is as essential to the existence and progress of the highest civilization as is the right of a man to own the honest fruits of his own personal toil. To deny this right would be to cut the sinews of industry. The theories of Rousseau, Proudhon, Marx, Lassalle, and George might work in a state of barbarism, but they are theories refuted and rejected by the verdict of civilization. The facts are all against them. Had these men been more intelligent historians, they would have been wiser philosophers. Their theories are fallacies, built not even upon shifting sands, but upon engulfing quicksands.

Or, take that most terrible of all the statements in the Socialists' indictment—the statement of so-called economic fact, on which Marx bases his assurance of successful revolution; the statement on which George rings the changes with funereal clangor of reiteration; the statement that “the rich are growing richer and fewer and the poor poorer and more numerous.” Through the lengthened sweeps of history the working of no such law is visible. There is no such law. From the days of ancient Rome, when in all the cities, and especially in the capital, vast masses of proletaires were gathered, where poverty, orphanage, abandonment of children, wide-spread misery prevailed, where ten thousand citizens in the capital owned all the property, where three hundred and twenty thousand men were on the public lists, where was massed abject wretchedness, such as the world has never since seen †—from those days until our own the progress of humanity has been, on the whole and in all civilized lands, the progress of the masses of humanity. We need not follow the course of history down through its long middle age reaches. If any man, who knows what the days of slavery and feudalism meant for the slaves and the churls, wants to go back either to slavery or feudalism, he is welcome to go back if he can.

* “Guyot,” p. 225. Mallock, “Property and Progress,” p. 223.

† “Gesta Christi.” Charles Loring Brace. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1882, pp. 96, 97.

But he shall not take humanity back with him. We face forward for the true golden age. Take the last two hundred years of the industrial condition of England. In 1688 the income of the average laborer was habitually insufficient to provide him with the necessaries of a decent living.* The whole laboring class, except a few thousand skilled artisans, was regarded as decreasing rather than as increasing the wealth of the country. One sixth of the population were paupers. To-day only one thirtieth of the population receive poor law support. In 1688 the average income of a workman's family was £12 12s. To-day the average income is £81.† From that day to this, while the average income of the country has increased only five times, the average income of the working class has increased six and a half times. Or take the last one hundred years, since machinery and the factory system supplanted hand tools and home labor. It has been the fashion for agitators to cast a very poetic glamour over what is called the domestic system. But what are the facts? The home was a hut, where the occupants divided their quarters with their machines and their pigs; where drunkenness, theft, want, disorder, gross superstition, disease, uncleanness, rendered virtue almost impossible.‡ It is a fact that under this system it required one fourth of the national income to keep the paupers from starvation. It is a fact that whatever the invention of machinery has not done, the work of Arkwright, Watt, Hargreaves and Wedgewood did check the growth of English pauperism. It is a fact that in the factory towns pauperism was, by the incoming of the factory, prevented from becoming a danger. In France you may see these two systems side by side, and if any workman prefers the miscalled freedom of the home toiler to the miscalled slavery of the factory operative, he is welcome to the choice. But he deserves a keeper and a strait jacket for making such a choice. It is a fact that machinery and collective occupation have in-

* Macaulay's "Hist. of England," Philadelphia, 1860, vol. i, pp. 123-126.

† Rae's "Contemporary Socialism," p. 328.

‡ "Report on the Factory System of the United States." Carroll D. Wright. Department of Interior, 1884, p. 18. Pidgeon's "Old World Questions," etc., p. 133.

creased production, increased wages, increased the general weal, and decreased the average cost of living. It is a fact that hours of labor have been diminished, and that for twenty per cent less labor-time, the English workman receives from fifty to one hundred per cent more money-wages than even fifty years ago, while the price of most of the articles that he uses has decreased.

Mr. Robert Giffen, President of the British Statistical Society, gives us the following result of his careful investigation: "The return to capital, and the return to what are called the capitalist classes, has increased only about one hundred per cent, although capital itself has increased over one hundred and fifty per cent. At the same time the capitalist classes themselves have greatly increased in number, so that the amount of capital possessed among them per head has only increased fifteen per cent, notwithstanding the great increase in capital itself, and the average income per head can hardly have increased at all. On the other hand, as the masses of the nation, taking the United Kingdom altogether, have only increased about thirty per cent since 1843, when these income-tax figures began, while their average incomes have increased one hundred and sixty per cent, it is explained how these incomes have gained individually about one hundred per cent, as against hardly any increase at all in the incomes, on the average, of what are called the capitalist classes. Thus the rich have become more numerous, but not richer individually; the 'poor' are, to some smaller extent, fewer; and those who remain 'poor' are, individually, twice as well off on the average as they were fifty years ago. The 'poor' have thus had almost all the benefit of the great material advance of the last fifty years."* It is also a fact that Eng-

* "The Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half Century," Robert Giffen. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1885. It ought to be conceded that Mr. Giffen's accuracy has been seriously questioned by such writers as Mr. Alfred Wallace; the author of "Class Interests"; and Mr. Thorold Rogers. "Evil as the condition is of destitute and criminal London, with its misery and recklessness, it is not, I am persuaded, so miserable and hopeless as nearly all urban labor was sixty years ago."—Rogers's "Work and Wages," p. 555.

lish workmen average by two years, and women by three years and a half, longer lives than fifty years ago, showing improved sanitary conditions, and more and better food.

Add to this that labor has its share in all the improved conditions of public convenience. It enjoys to-day, at very small cost to itself, public blessings and personal comforts, which wealth, one hundred years ago, could not procure for itself at any cost. Never in human history has the laborer been in all respects so well conditioned, as is the average laborer of England and America at this very hour. This is not to say that his condition is satisfactory, that it is what it ought to be. The workingman is not content. He ought not to be content. We would not wish to have him content. There are many things that ought to be different in his condition. But he is not getting worse; he is, on the whole, getting better. He ought to be looking up, for he is coming up. There is poverty enough. There are wrongs enough. There is human misery enough in our civilization to make the heart sick, and to incite all humane people to noblest toil for the amelioration or the removal of this misery. But it makes a great difference whether we regard these evils as hopelessly increasing, or as hopefully diminishing. It makes a great difference whether we are enabled to say, that in spite of all drawbacks, progress has been made, or whether we must say that in spite of all advantage only increasing ruin is possible. "The rich richer and fewer, and the poor poorer and more numerous!" Avaunt, the spectral falsehood! The rich are growing richer, but not less numerous. The middle class are not dying out. The poor are not increasing but diminishing. Let the workman look up. The rich, in this social movement, are indeed advancing faster than he. But he, too, is advancing. Who build our great cathedrals? Hand-workers, mostly. Could they have done it a century ago? Who are sending streams of gold across the ocean to aid in Irish liberation? Hand-workers mostly. Could they have done it a century ago? The working classes are, on the whole, advancing. If other classes advance more rapidly while the working classes advance slowly, since these advance, surely, with grudging, angry whine, they will not complain of the rapid advance of others, when, by true eco-

conomic law, this rapid advance is necessary in order to make even their slow progress possible. Workmen will advance more surely, and those who labor on their behalf can work more heartily, when they and we know, that though they may yet be lower down on the social and industrial grade than we could wish, yet they are not being driven inevitably toward the bottom, crowded and crushed by some infernal law. Rather, they are coming up, slowly indeed, but surely, impelled and aided by a beneficent and divine impulse. Honest and fair-minded workmen will not lay the blame of real evils on the wrong shoulders. Never thus will evils be righted. Capital as such is not a tyrant; nor is the employing class, nor competition, nor the law of supply and demand. Neither rent, nor interest, nor profits, as such, are fleecers and oppressors growing fat on stolen juices. Though men work for wages they are not wages slaves. Labor is not the sole creator of value. There is no iron law of wages. There is no highwayman rent-grabber who lays increasing exaction upon all industry. There is no inevitable evolution backward, tumbling myriads, once comparatively competent, down into the enlarging vortex of poverty, and making the poor a more and more miserable and continually enlarging class.

Yet if the economic principles, and the so-called economic fact of the Socialist's indictment were real principles and actual fact, rather than the fallacies they are, even then the Socialist's method would be a totally inadequate method. Socialism could neither cure existing disease, nor set right any existing wrong. Why? Because it takes things by the wrong handle. It would begin on the wrong side. It would work from outside inward, instead of from inside outward. It would seek to change character by changing condition, instead of changing condition by changing character. Here is the root fallacy of the Socialist's demand. Against universal experience he would make good condition the panacea for moral ills, and as one of them naïvely expresses it, "thus make life an eternal picnic." Not to dispute now the inadequacy of such a view of life, who does not discover, on reflection, the folly of the method? If mere material well-being is the source of happiness and virtue, then all virtue should now be found in the better-conditioned social classes, and all

vice in the worse conditioned. Is this found? Is it not a part of the Socialist's indictment that the vices of the ruling classes have been the bane of society? If there is any truth in this indictment, and there is some truth in it, does it not expose the weakness of the Socialist's logic of reform? His indictment contradicts his demand. I have seen men in poverty, touched by a force within them, rise above their conditions, changed from vice to virtue, from slovenliness to neatness, from sloth to industry—

“Plying their daily task with busier feet,
Because their secret souls a holy strain repeat.”

I have seen men fall suddenly from riches to poverty, who were not changed by the changed conditions, but were the same loving, noble, faithful men as before. To be sure, the evils of abject poverty do present special and fierce temptations. But what sphere of life is above temptation? It is no easy but an always difficult thing to live a true and good life anywhere.

Socialism looks for universal happiness and universal morality in the wrong direction. What is the Socialist's hope? It is, that out of the throes of revolution, peaceable or violent, giving to the State the ownership of all land and capital and instruments of production, a new humanity shall be born in which every man shall be honest and truthful, unselfish and trustworthy. The fiery bath of revolution is to be the Socialist's baptism unto moral regeneration. If this wholesale method of conversion is feasible, it is surprising that the power who governs the universe had not long ago tried the experiment. Yet on the success of this experiment depends the success of all the economic and administrative methods included in the Socialist's demands. He needs, he must have at the start, a perfect humanity. Otherwise his experiment will repeat the lesson of all similar experiments. Has our Socialist ever asked himself the question, whether, under his administration, the work of organizing and supervising the collection of materials, the adjustment of labor to its tasks, the care and repair of machinery and buildings—the thousand and one details which in our complicated systems of production and distribution are performed by the capitalist and employing classes—will be done as well and as cheaply, as these things

are now done by those whom society pays in rent and profit and interest, for the services which it accepts at their hands? * Does he give us any shadow of proof or basis for reasonable expectation that this will be the case? Has he shown us how undirected labor, left to itself, can secure progress? Has he settled how distribution of products is to be effected—how cost of product and cost of wages are to be determined, when the laws of competition and supply and demand have been abolished?

Our Socialist reverses the course of history. He would roll back the stream of time. The world has already had Socialism in its essence. Original property was common property. But as civilization grew, it outgrew common property. The necessities of progress demanded individual ownership of land and the instruments of production. There are common land-ownerships existing even to-day, as the Russian Mir. But the Russian peasant is ignorance itself, and his agricultural methods and results are, on the richest soil, two thousand years behindhand. Socialism is an old skin that progressive nations long ago outgrew and threw off. We talk of civilizing our own Indian tribes. What do we demand for them as the first step towards civilization? Socialism? They have it—State ownership of land and of the instruments of production. Nay! We demand for them land in severalty—personal ownership—as necessary to their uplift from Socialistic barbarism. When the French "Socialist Review" said, in 1880, "You may almost measure the degree of civilization by the extent to which collective appropriation has taken place," it spoke in the teeth of all history and of all fact. You may rather measure human industrial progress by the extent to which collective ownership has been abandoned. As to land, Mr. Maine affirms: "I believe I state the inference suggested by all known legal history, when I say that there can be no material advance in civilization, unless landed property is held by groups, at least as small as families."

Our Socialist plants himself squarely across a law ordained

* On the difficulties of State management of industry, see article "Some of the Remedies for Socialism." E. L. Godkin. "Internat. Rev.," June, 1879. Pp. 688-690.

by the nature of things, the law of individualism, the law that self-help is best help, the law that produced New England men, and all the greatness and worth the world has ever seen. Two forces in their mutual play must dominate real human progress. Each of these forces is necessary to the completeness of the other. One is individualism, the centrifugal force, the sense of manhood, self-dependence, self-endeavor, self-control. This, become excessive and absolutely dominant, is the planet broken from its center, rushing from its orbit into destruction of itself and of other men's rights. This is anarchy.* The other force is the duty of social service, by which alone a true individualism is attained—the centripetal force. This, imposing itself violently from without, is again a planet rushing from its orbit, but drawn now into the yawning vortex of the central sun. This is Socialism—the destruction of manhood. Individualism is a force ordained by the nature of things. As life advances, organs differentiate, and species become distinct. The higher the type the more marked the individuality. Barbarians are hardly distinguishable in feature and character. Civilized men are easily distinguishable. Yet Socialism would reverse this law of nature, and by that most fateful of all tyrannies, the tyranny of a mass, would run all these diversities, and their opportunity for free play, into a single mold. In the fair Utopia, of which the Socialist dreams, "poetry will sing her songs and art adorn with chisel and pencil!" Nay, history dispels that dream. The land of ancient wealth, of poets, painters, sculptors, philosophers, was Athens, with her individualism and her personal freedom, not Sparta with the repressive barbarism of her Socialism. Wealth, power, progress, the greatest good of the greatest number, all material prosperity and intellectual vigor, are the children of a true individualism. "The achievements of law, literature, science, art, culture, the deeds of heroes, the lives of saints, the deaths of martyrs," these are its fruits. Socialism is the negation of the possibility of such progress. It is the securing of an unnatural equality by the destruction of all real freedom. Socialism takes possession of the man. It settles

* On results of extreme individualism, see article "Socialist," R. T. Ely, "Andover Review," vol. v, p. 162.

everything for him. It counts him not a body, not a soul, but part of a machine. This is not life. This is not liberty. This is not progress. This is barbarism. "This is mummification." But this is Socialism.* May we not well confront our giant and bid him halt before he wave the wand of revolution, to sweep away existing society as so much stage scenery, when he has no better substitute than this to offer us?

In this chapter the conclusions have been given with but little indication as to the processes and proofs by which they have been reached. But I believe they will stand the test of honest argument, even as they surely agree with the verdict of history. The path of the workingman's progress does not lie in the direction of Socialism, ably and truly as it may have formulated many of his reasonable complaints and his legitimate demands. The road whither this giant leads is full of pitfalls of fatal fallacy and is grim and frightful with Gorgon horrors and chimeras dire. If Socialism could give, as it never can, all the wealth of circumstance it promises, even then it could not truly aid progress. Wealth of circumstance is not progress. There is but one earthly factor in progress—man.† I know that awful truths in the Socialist's indictment yet remain unchallenged. I am not blind to sights of sorrow, or deaf to cries of misery that greet us at every turn. But I am sure that the world is better than it has been. It is not growing worse. There are no iron laws of existing economy that inevitably crush men down to hopeless slavery. Dark as the world is, it is moving upward into increasing light. We are not to cure the ills we have by flying to others that we know not of. Oh ye to whom life has brought constant labor and little gain, look up! Struggle up! Ten thousand hands are stretched out to help you. Ten thousand voices cheer you.

* "Workmen of spirit regard State Socialism as the small-pox of servility. Those unvaccinated with independence take it, and the abject have it badly." George Jacob Holyoake, "Nineteenth Century," June, 1879, p. 1119.

† "True progress must be the progress of man. I say, of man himself; as distinct from the organization, appliances or embellishments of his life; as distinct, in short, from anything which is properly outside him."—"University Sermons." By H. P. Liddon. Boston: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1868, p. 44.

Within the limits of existing social order—with its capital, rent, interest, profits, property, which are not robberies, but rights as sacred as your own, and needful to the very existence of your own—righteous changes, and a true social evolution, shall usher in a brighter day for toiling millions.

CHAPTER VII.

TRUTHS IN SOCIALISM.

"We are members of one great body; we are all akin by Nature, who hath formed us of the same elements, and placed us here together for the same end. She hath implanted in us mutual affection, and made us sociable. She hath commanded justice and equity. By her appointment it is more wretched to do an injury than to suffer one. By her command the hand must be ever ready to assist our brother."—*Seneca, Epistle 95.*

"In the individual, in his isolation, the destiny of humanity is unrealized; the old words are verified, *unus homo, nullus homo.*"—*E. Mulford.*

IN recognizing truth in Socialism, we do not recognize Socialism as truth. In the movements of human thought it has often happened that some widespread error has been the agency for restating, re-emphasizing, re-sphering some forgotten or neglected truth. The histories of physical science and of Christian theology are full of illustrations of this fact.

All great truths are two-sided. By the mutual, balancing inter-action of two opposite forces, the stars make music in their courses, and human society advances toward its goal. In the care which each member of the social body has had for itself, it may be we have forgotten that there were other members; that there is a body; that while we are units, we are not units isolated, but units in essential relation to other units; all to realize their best personal development by their co-operation with the higher unity. There are many members. This most of us understand full well. There is a body. Do we understand and exemplify that as well? There is a body—one body, society. This is the truth in Socialism. Yet it is not a truth original with Socialism. The Socialist neither invented nor discovered it; though to him must be given much credit for re-emphasizing it. It is a human truth. Phi-

losophers like Seneca recognized and recorded it. The Hebrew prophets proclaimed it on the hills of Palestine. By the Lake of Galilee, and in the streets and Temple of Jerusalem, this human truth, this law for all men, was embodied, was taught, was lived by Jesus Christ. Aided by the light which streams from His cross, we are now to consider some social duties, and some very unsocial facts. The truth that the body is one, though the members are many, is a truth that makes demands upon the personal and the social conscience, and presents indictments against many of the conditions of modern industrial life.

During the last fifty years, and notably during the last decade, a change has been coming over the method and the spirit of political economy. It is becoming historic in its method, searching the past and the present for facts, out of which it may formulate principles, and so it is becoming scientific. It is becoming moral in its spirit.* Formerly it was immoral, or rather unmoral, in its spirit. It refused to admit that morality was within its field. Even now, some of its prominent teachers refuse to admit this. Says a leading American writer: "This idea of obligation on which the science of morals is founded, and the idea of value, on which the science of economy is founded, are totally distinct ideas. There is one word that marks and circumscribes the field of morals. That word is Ought. There is one word that marks and circumscribes the field of economy. That word is Value. Political economy does not aspire to place its feet upon the ponderous imperatives of moral obligation. It finds a solid and adequate footing upon the expedient and the useful. As a science it does and must discuss all questions upon economical grounds alone. As a science, it has no concern with questions of moral right. It favors honesty because honesty favors exchange. It puts the seal of the market upon all the virtues."† God help us if our virtues have no higher source and no nobler seal than that of the market! Is a man one being or two? Is the being who loves, and hopes, and chooses and

* See publications of American Economic Association, and p. 94, below.

† "Elements of Political Economy." Arthur Latham Perry, LL. D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co., 1878, p. 47.

prays, a separate being from the productive machine who toils in the workshop or the counting-room? Is there any conceivable sphere of human action where, because the action is human, since it is an action chosen to be done by a human will endowed with the power of choice, that human will should not hearken to a divine "ought" impelling it to a righteous choice? Can it be that the part of life, which, as to time employed, is for most men the largest part, the part filled with play of forces which both express and make character, shall be the one part of life which does not aspire to place its feet upon the "ponderous imperatives of moral obligation?" No wonder that the fruits of such teaching have been frauds, thieveries, oppressions, shabby work, vicious lives, awful miseries, the breaking down of confidence between man and man.

Says another: "Science is colorless and impersonal. It investigates the force of gravity, and finds out the laws of that force, and has nothing to do with the weal or the woe of men under the operation of that law."* And then this writer proceeds to argue that political economy is such a science. If it is such a science, then it is a science unscientific; for it excludes from its field the chief factor in industry, the will of man. Laws of physical nature work relentlessly. Winds, storms, earthquakes, day and night, summer and winter, come and go. We can not hinder or vary their movements. But economic laws are no such laws. They move by human will. Where they work hurtfully they may be varied, modified and made to act healthfully.† Self-interest is an economic force, necessary, divinely implanted. But it is not the only force. Destroy it, and you have destroyed progress. Make it paramount, refuse to temper and modify it by considerations of duty to one's neighbors and to society, and you have inaugurated the reign of universal selfishness—the kingdom of Satan

* "What Social Classes Owe to Each Other." William Graham Sumner. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1883, p. 159.

† "Economists have failed to distinguish between laws of physical and laws of social science. They refuse to see that while the former are inevitable and eternal, the latter—though some of them too, like that of 'diminishing returns,' are immutable—express for the most part facts of human nature, which is capable of modification by self-conscious human endeavor."—"The Industrial Revolution, etc." Arnold Toynbee. London: Rivingtons, 1884, p. 22.

and not of Christ. The political economy that rejects the moral from any true place in the science ; the producers, who follow such teachings, and who ask first, what are the rights of capital and the rights of labor, and never what are the duties of capital and the duties of labor ; they who think that all duty is in a man's care for himself, and that he owes nothing to his fellows ; these all brand themselves with the brand of Cain—well called "The First Anarchist"—who, with a sneering rejection of all social obligation, asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?" No wonder that such an economy which, with all its worth, was marred by such inhumanity and immorality has been called "the dismal science," "the grab-all science."

But there is a better day dawning. Read this ! "We then have the touch-stone, by the aid of which we may discover the purity of economic doctrines. The false doctrines are those which, when pushed to their extreme consequences, will lead to immorality. The true doctrines are those which we find absolutely conformable to the laws of morality. Considered from this height, the study of this science becomes one of the most honorable as well as one of the most useful employments of the human mind, and to describe it by a definition worthy of its noble tendencies, it might perhaps be called morality in its relation to labor."* Or this : "Even less than law does political economy recognize any absolute proprietary rights ; and in a higher ethical sense all our goods are but intrusted to us, as stewards, to be used in promoting the welfare of our fellow men, as well as our own and equally with our own."† Or this : "The passing revolution in economic thought will bring into the science the treatment of the uses of wealth as well as the accumulation, distribution, and exchange, and incite discussion upon the relations of labor and capital on an ethical basis ; combining with the old question the old school always asks, 'Will it pay?' another and higher query, 'Is it right?'"‡ All hail, then, to the new

* Article "Morality." André Cochut. Lalor's "Cyclopædia of Political Science," etc., vol. ii, p. 907.

† Ely's "Recent American Socialism," p. 71.

‡ "The Relation of Political Economy to the Labor Question." Carroll D. Wright. Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1882, p. 16.

economy, the moral science, the social science, the science whose aim is to treat of the production of individual and national and universal weal, rather than of individual and common wealth ! This science, sitting at the feet of the Divine Teacher of Galilee, will recognize as the chief industrial motive, not self-interest alone finding its true level by warring with the self-interest of other men, but self-interest transfigured, crowned by love and multiplied a thousand-fold in its industrial potency by means of its transfiguration. This is the social economy of Christianity. For though we are many members, yet we are one body and members one of another.*

The increase, in economic thought and in industrial action, of this moral element, this spirit and principle of social law, of mutual service, of self-sacrifice, of due regard for the rights and needs of other men, will result in the granting of enlarged functions to the State. By the State is meant the legislative, judicial, executive embodiment of the will of organic society, whether that society be a city, a township, a commonwealth, or a nation. The State is the social body in organized action. Two opposite views have been held as to the function of the administrative State. One is called the "policeman theory," which is that the only duty of the State is to defend persons and property against the aggression of other persons and property ; to see that everybody has an equal right to do the best he can for himself. The other is the "paternal theory," that the State must provide for its citizens. Each of these theories has truth in it. But on the premises of the first, carrying the notion of the least possible government to extremes, the Anarchist builds his notion of no government but individual self-government. On the premises of the second, exaggerated, in a monarchical State the Absolutist builds his despotism, and in a Democratic state the Socialist builds his notion of the State as a huge industrial monopoly. It is by the proper adjustment of the two notions that the best individual and social progress will be secured. Certainly to teach men to look to the State for support, to attribute every evil in personal or social life to the failure of the State in its duty, would be to

* Consult article by Prof. Richard T. Ely. "Johns Hopkins University Studies." Vol. ii. Baltimore, 1884, paper iii.

enervate and pauperize the citizen, and to degrade and demoralize industry. This is what Rome did with her free shows and her free bread. This is what England did with her poor laws.* This is what all systems of Communism have done, save where the existence of a free industrial life, side by side with the commune, has modified the action of the communistic principle. True individualism must jealously watch and steadfastly resist all encroachment upon the law that self-help is the best help.† And yet, as Professor Wagner, of Berlin, has so clearly pointed out, the growth of civilization has involved an increase both extensively and intensively of the functions of the administrative State. The State concerns itself with more objects, and it attends to these objects with greater variety and fineness of detail.‡

With due regard to the greatest freedom of individual action and due maintenance of the supreme value to social weal of the hardness of intellectual and moral muscle wrought

* "A man who ekes out his wages with the public alms can afford to work at a lower price than one who has only his own resources to reckon on. This is what the English poor-rate has come to. Invented in the fourteenth century, and systematized in the sixteenth, it has made pauperism a profession maintained at the cost of those who labor. In attempting to succor the distressed, the State has created distress by depreciating the price of labor." Guyot's "Prin. of Soc. Econ.," p. 186.

† "In giving this State-help, we make three conditions: first, the matter must be one of primary social importance; next, it must be proved to be practicable; thirdly, the State interference must not diminish self-reliance." Toynbee's "Indus. Revol., etc.," p. 219.

‡ "Whenever social aims can be attained only, or most advantageously, through State action, that action is justified. The cases in which it can properly interfere must be determined separately, on their own merits, and in relation to the stage of national development. It ought certainly to promote intellectual and æsthetic culture. It ought to enforce provisions for public health, and regulations for the proper conduct of production and transport. It ought to protect the weaker members of society, especially women, children, the aged and the destitute, at least in the absence of family maintenance and guardianship. It ought to secure the laborer against the worst consequences of personal injury not due to his own negligence; to assist through legal recognition and supervision, the efforts of the working-class for joint no less than individual self-help; and to guarantee the safety of their earnings when intrusted to its care."—J. K. Ingram. Art. "Polit. Econ." "Encycl. Brit.," 9th ed., vol. xix, p. 406 b.

through conflict and self-assertion, and of the successes that are best won by many a failure, it can not be said that the tendency of increasing State function is, on the whole, an evil tendency. Surely, if society is anything more than a mass of unorganized units, and true society is much more than this; if we are a body, even though made up of many members, it can not be wrong for the body in all best ways to strive to promote its own weal and to promote thus the weal of each member by its own administrative action, as well as by promoting through such action the highest and freest action of each separate member.

When we come to the practical application of this principle, differences of opinion will arise. Whether the State shall loan money to its citizens for the building of houses or the carrying on of industrial enterprises, such as either the building of railroads or the starting of co-operative factories; whether the State in its corporate function shall build, equip, own, manage railroads, telegraphs, steamship lines, or shall secure by right of eminent domain, and with proper compensation, those that are already in operation—these and similar questions may possibly be open to debate;* though in a democracy the peril of such State action and the immense difficulties of administration are clearly apparent.†

* "If the State should take telegraphy out of the hands of a 'financial freebooter,' who has secured good dividends on stock two thirds water, and should furnish the people with telegraphing facilities at cost, a burden would be lifted from the entire public, and business freedom would have a wider range under better business conditions. Nobody would be hurt by such measures of governmental interference or management, except the extortionist, and he has no more right to exemption from the correcting hand of government than the robber or the slave-monger."—"Class Interests," p. 146. Read the whole of Chapter VI in "Class Interests," on "Governmental Interference." The entire work is an exceedingly valuable contribution to the discussion of the social question. Also "Railways and the Republic," James F. Hudson. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1886.

† The railroad controversies of the past few months; the theft and attempted wreck of the New York and New England Railroad by men who claim to be respectable; the fact that for every man the "opportunity to success in business lies through the grace of the manager of a public highway"—are rapidly taking the expediency of State ownership of railroads out of debatable ground. When kings become tyrants, downtrodden subjects rebel. On the

But there are matters of existing or of possible State action concerning which some conclusions may be ventured. Take education. The State claims the right to educate its future citizens. No one disputes that right as to primary education, except those who dispute it on religious grounds. Now the right to educate at all involves both the right and the duty of the best education. And the State ought so to organize its educational system, and make the reception of the benefits of that system so compulsory, that by reason of the breadth, thoroughness, and sufficient length of the training, ignorance and unskilled labor shall become impossible. From the Kindergarten—where the mobile fingers shall be taught such facile movement as shall enable the future hand-workers to adjust themselves, more easily than now, to the frequent changes in industrial methods—up to the technical school for some, and the high-school or college for others, the State ought to secure to every boy and girl an equal chance, and to every young man and woman, whose capacities may warrant, and whose circumstances permit it, an equal opportunity of adequate equipment for the business of life. And this education ought to be broadened in its scope. It ought to include hand-training as well as mind-training.* It ought to teach how to think, and how to work, and how rightly to live. It ought to train boys in knowledge of materials, and in the use of tools. It ought to teach girls how to keep house, how to make and mend garments, how to buy, prepare, cook and serve food; and how to secure in the home that cleanliness and good order which cost no more in cash, though more in care, than filth and disorder. If it is objected that this would be a Spartan and Socialist interference with parental right and duty, the average parental incompetency to provide the required training is a sufficient answer. The same objection, if valid here, would hold against any education by the State. The question involved is not the right of the parent but the

probable results, on administrative methods, of State ownership of all modes of transportation, see R. T. Ely's letter to Knights of Labor, "Civil Service Reformer," Baltimore, April, 1886, p. 57.

* "Manual Training." C. H. Ham. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1886.

right of the child, and the duty of the State to its future citizens.*

Take legislation on industrial matters. And here we face an ugly fact. Until within a comparatively recent period this legislation in all countries has been avowedly one-sided and wholly a class legislation.† Go over the history of our own legislation, State and national. What has it been? It has been the passage of legislative acts, enabling by special privilege some people to take money out of other people's pockets, and to put it into their own. Look at the record. Look into the faces of the men who make the compact, aggressive lobby rings, that close tightly about your chosen representatives. Who are these men? Read a Washington dispatch: "The New Jersey members are mostly here. They are thoroughly alive to one question, and united about that, which is that the Baltimore and Ohio shall not get into New York by way of Staten Island, if they can help it. They talk as if this was the main question now before the country. It is evident that

* See article "The Child and the State." David Dudley Field. "The Forum," April, 1886, pp. 105-113.

† "Meanwhile these very many millionaires, and these very gigantic corporations, whose counsel are so eloquent upon the danger of over-legislation, have climbed to their high prosperity by the helping hand of law through legislation specially enacted to further their schemes. They never could have been what they are, but for special legislation."—Rev. Heber Newton. "Report of Senate Com. on Labor," vol. ii, pp. 563, 564. It ought to arouse the indignation of honest men, to see how those who have hitherto secured class legislation for their own class are suddenly awakened to the sense of the iniquity of class legislation, when any law is proposed in the interest of classes whom former legislation has neglected or oppressed. To hear these people talk, one would imagine that class legislation was some new thing under the sun. Let a bill be proposed for the regulation of fines in factories, or for the establishment of a Bureau of Labor Statistics, or for any object in which the welfare of workmen is involved, and straightway from the very quarter which has had all the legislation it asks for in its interest, comes the cry, "Class legislation!" Much class legislation is plainly needed to cure, on the homœopathic principle, the disease which class legislation has induced. "Whenever the legislature attempts to regulate the difference between masters and their workmen, its counselors are always the masters. When the regulation therefore is in favor of the workman, it is always just and equitable; but it is sometimes otherwise when in favor of the masters."—Adam Smith, "Wealth of Nations," p. 126, bk. i, chap. v, part 2.

there is to be a large force here to prevent any action by Congress giving the right to bridge the Kill van Kull." This means that the lobby intend, if possible, to keep a monopoly in the hands of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Now this whole business of legislation, dictated by monopolist lobbies or prevented by them, is shameful business. It is the sort of business that has furnished Socialist agitators with much of the ammunition which makes Socialism a peril. Until recently there has been no attempt on the part of any American State at even a decent police protection of the just rights of labor. There is much to be done by the States and the nation, both in repealing mischiefs and in enacting good.

Few questions confront modern society, as represented by the State, more perplexing than the question as to how to deal with immense and increasing fortunes and with huge and growing monopolies. A large fortune in single hands may be a great blessing to the community. It may be a most wholesome promoter of industry. A monopoly need not be, in itself, a thing unjust. No one will question the large social benefit of the genius possessed by Raphael or Bacon or Shakespeare. They were monopolies of genius conferred by the Creator, and money monopolies need not work in different fashion. Monopolies, or vast concentrations of capital, may be the only possible means for carrying forward great industrial enterprises. But money power, though in itself a necessary and a beneficent force, tends, like all power, to become arrogant, selfish, oppressive. It is a power needing to be continually watched and restrained. And the free action of conflicting self-interests is not sufficient for the needful watchfulness and restraint. The railroad pool may be, doubtless is, essential to best transportation, but if it result in extortionate freights, it is a tyranny which the State must prevent. Vested interests! We respect them so long as they respect themselves and social rights. But vested interests may become vested oppressions. They break down commercial morality, and set themselves to oppose and crush everything that stands in their way. They may foster wide-spread discontent, furnish fuel to incendiaries, threaten public weal. They may corrupt politics and bribe legislators, and endanger all social and political safety. Then vested interests have become

vested nuisances ; and for the sake of public good, which is everywhere paramount over private rights, the State must so legislate that these vested nuisances shall be restrained or modified, or if need be, suppressed.* Society can not with safety permit monopolist giants to tread ordinary men under their heel, to lord it over all the industries of the land, to hold irresponsible despotism over the highways of the nation's intercourse and traffic.† The warning uttered by Rev. Dr. Crosby, of New York, is timely and worthy of loud and constant reiteration : "The community can not be plundered forever ; combinations of capitalists and legislators to rob the poor for the benefit of the rich will eventually meet with counter-combinations that will not stop with robbery. This is human nature, as well as history."‡

Consider the duty of the State in reference to a few matters specially complained of by workingmen. Take the way in which the "fine" system is sometimes administered in the larger workshops and factories. Every large industry must have order, organization, discipline, laws and penalties. But when \$500, \$1,000, and more are, as fines, deducted each week, in some factories, from the week's wages ; when workmen are forbidden to measure their own work, and must always accept the foreman's measure ; when fines are imposed for flaws in work, which no workman can detect during the process of production, for flaws in weaving due to defective spinning or to imperfect machinery, and for some flaws which can only be detected by the microscope ; when gangs of incompetent, green hands, are hired at current wages, put to work without instruction or special supervision, and fined at the end of the week sometimes more than their total wages—certainly there

* Simon Sterne, art. "Monopolies." Lalor's "Cycl. of Political Science," etc., pp. 890-898. "Class Interests," chap. v. Art. by C. C. Nott, "Internat. Rev.," i, p. 370. Art. "Effect of Monopolies on Value," A. C. Bolles, "N. A. Rev.," 117, p. 319.

† "The coal barons must not be permitted to enrich themselves by compelling miners to starve at one end of their lines and the operatives to freeze at the other." Art. "Christianity and Wealth," Washington Gladden, "Cent. Mag.," October, 1884, p. 907. See also "The Money-Makers." New York : D. Appleton & Co., 1886.

‡ Article "The Dangerous Classes," "N. A. Review," vol. 136, p. 350.

is wrong somewhere. When workmen trading at a company store, pay not only the average profit on the cost of articles, but average profit calculated on ten per cent added to the cost, injustice is certainly done.* Such wrongs are, it is hoped, exceptional in the dealings of employer with employed. But they ought to be impossible wrongs. What business is it of ours? It is our business. It is the business of every man who would promote social weal. It is society's business. It is the State's business. Social public opinion and State administration have a right, in the interest of private justice and public order, to put an end to these wrongs.

Then there is the matter of the employment of children in factories. Matters have been greatly improved in England since Robert Owen and the Earl of Shaftesbury began their labors to prevent the "slaughter of the innocents." But both in England and America there is room for large improvement. The law, both in regard to age and to the attendance of the children at school, is frequently violated. In 1886 there were 1,118,000 wages-receivers who were boys under sixteen and girls under fifteen years of age. No child can get a proper schooling who, from ten to fifteen, attends school only twenty weeks in each school year. No child can attain a proper physical development who goes into factory-work at ten years of age. Many parents, urged by poverty, and some employers urged by greed, combine to evade the law as it is. We are creating, what past generations have created for England, a factory class, a class that never ought to exist, a class that, in the not distant future, will be pale, sallow, stunted, sickly, physical and mental imbeciles. This is what our system of children's labor is doing for our future. Public weal ought to dominate parental need and employing greed, and at whatever cost of present suffering wipe away this iniquity. The limit of age ought to be raised to fourteen years, and the law ought to be

* "The Pittsburg Leader" of January 24, 1886, published the results of an investigation into the relations between the miners and the "stores." It was found that men were often paid in "orders"; were discharged for not dealing at the "stores"; and that there was "an average of over sixty per cent advance in price charged by the company stores over other stores." If this is not robbery, oppression, outrage, by what more truthful terms shall such high-handed villainy be described?

inexorably enforced. "That State government must be one of sublime stupidity in its conception of its functions which declines, on the plea of non-interference, to deal in due time with this critical problem—this disintegration of the domestic order, this play of silently working forces which are daily resolving the adverse interests of industrial life more and more into a treacherous struggle of factory *versus* family."*

Oh,* the children !

"They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
And their look is dread to see,
For they mind you of their angels in high places,
With eyes turned on Deity !
'How long,' they say, 'how long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand, to move the world, on a child's heart—
Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitating,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart ?
Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper,
And your purple shows your path !
But the child's sob in the silence curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath !" †

Consider what should be the attitude of the State toward some of the robbers of society. We have already looked at monopolies become tyrannical. Look a little further ! Directorship in a railroad or other corporation is in itself a legitimate and useful occupation. But here is a director who circulates stories hostile to the good name of his corporation. Down goes the stock, down, down, down. Some of this stock is the heritage of widows and orphans, some of it the savings of the poor. These small owners are frightened and sell, losing fifty or seventy-five per cent of their investment. Mr. Director buys. He is glad to relieve the widow of her burden. How anxious Mr. Director was, when placing the stock, to get it into many hands ! How anxious he now is to

* Art. "The Employment of Children," John F. Crowell, "Andover Rev.," vol. iv, July, 1885, pp. 42-55.

"Annual Rep. Inspect. Workshops and Factories of New Jersey," 1885. Art. "The Child and the State," David Dudley Field, "The Forum," vol. i, April, 1886, pp. 106-113.

† "The Cry of the Children," Mrs. E. B. Browning.

get it into few hands, and these chiefly his own ! Up goes the stock. What is this man, judged by his deed ? What is the highwayman ? What is the burglar ? Some of the vast fortunes that now combine to control industries and to dictate legislation represent this sort of work. Nothing earned, nothing produced ; but millions stolen !

Take our Boards of Trade, and our Stock and Produce Exchanges. These Boards and Exchanges are triumphs of commercial organization. They are essentials to successful distribution of products. To belong to them, to use them, are, in themselves, transactions as legitimate and moral as transactions over a counter. Speculation of a certain sort equalizes prices. But every business man knows that there is speculation and speculation, and that the difference between the two is as the difference between light and darkness. A few men meet, say, in a Chicago office. They consult. They have a right to consult. As the result of the consultation, the price of wheat, or corn, or pork, or beef rises. There is no economic reason for the rise ; no failure of product, no increased demand. These men in Chicago have a corner in wheat or corn, or pork or beef, that is all. Or two men agree, the one to deliver what he does not possess, and never expects to possess, and the other to receive what he does not want and never intends to receive—cotton or wheat or railroad stock. Each deposits in the hands of a third man, a wager, a "margin," a forfeit for the keeping of the agreement. One man takes the money, less the broker's commission. Nothing is bought, nothing sold, except on paper ; nothing is produced, no more real value is created, than is created by the throw of a dice-box. But something is stolen. All values are disturbed. All honest trade is injured. More paper products are dealt with every day in our great exchanges than the combined industries of the world can furnish in real products.* This is rob-

* "A YEAR'S SPECULATIONS.—Most people not familiar with the subject will hardly believe that the total transactions on the four principal speculative exchanges in New York City, last year, amounted to no less than fifteen thousand millions of dollars. Yet this is found to be the case. Such a sum is almost beyond the power of human conception, and equals many times the value of all the various articles dealt in that was in existence during the year. Yet this list includes only four classes of all the articles dealt in on the specula-

bery. The rich are robbed. The poor are robbed. This is to make the producer take the least possible for what he sells, and the consumer pay the most possible for what he buys. It is against all moral principle and all economic law. It violates the grand commercial law of mutual benefit and service. It sets the men who carry on these transactions with a knife against the throat of every other man.* In the name of all honest production and trade whose values this gambling deranges, and whose tasks it makes more burdensome ; in the name of the vast army of toilers, whose comforts this gambling despoils and from whose necessities it fleeces ; in the name of society, whose morals this gambling corrupts, and whose peace it seriously threatens ; in the name of the very gamblers themselves, whose moral standards this gambling degrades, and whose moral sense it paralyzes ; by authority of every indisputable economic law ; by the Divine Book—these gamblers are impeached as robbers of capital, thieves of profits, spoliators of wages. Acting not by the pressure of any established law of capital, or competition, or exchange, but in defiance of all principle and for the sake of indulging their love of chance and luck and greed—these gamblers are tyrants of society. Against them are summoned the anger of labor, the indignation of trade, the ban of society, the penalties of legislation ; and upon them, and upon the righteousness of this impeachment is solemnly invoked the discerning judgment of the just God !

Yet another tyrant and robber comes before us for impeachment. His robberies are confined to no class and to no locality. He smites the rich man's home and sends forth his

tive market—stock, grain, petroleum and cotton. Commodities, options and futures are the form in which these transactions are conducted, and so common have such operations become that scarcely a branch of trade has not a market where such dealings can be carried on.”—“Newark Advertiser.”

* Articles “Agiotage,” and “Products on Paper,” Lalor's “Cyclopædia of Political Science,” etc.

Article “Three Dangers.” Washington Gladden, “Century Magazine,” August, 1884, p. 624 ; also Editor's “Topics for Times,” p. 620.

Article “Making Bread Dear,” Henry D. Lloyd, “North American Review,” 187, pp. 118-136. Also “Nineteenth Century,” vol. x, p. 532.

“The Nation,” vol. xxiii, p. 210.

sons to squander fortunes, to seduce virtue, and to drivel at last in the mad-house. He enters the poor man's dwelling, filching clothing from his back and food from his table, and sending often to the pawnshop the bed whereon a sick wife or puny children have need to lie. He comes to the workshop and workmen stagger sullenly to their tasks ; or lose wages, and hinder production by idleness ; or waste material through induced slovenliness and inefficiency. He stands at the almshouse and welcomes three fourths of all who enter there as his own progeny. He visits the prison, and on four fifths of the inmates he fastens the shackles and turns the key as on his own subjects. If murder is done, he chiefly nerves the hand that takes a brother's blood. If riot makes ravage, he often fires the hearts that work the ruin. Wherever he sways his scepter, wages waste, and women weep, and little children huddle in terror or pine in agony. This tyrant controls caucuses, carries elections, governs cities. Political parties are afraid of him. He organizes obstinate resistance to all laws which would restrict the spread of the contagion of his infamies. A workmen's procession paraded the streets of Chicago with a banner inscribed, "Our Children cry for Bread !" But on the picnic-grounds that day these workmen contributed \$600 for the support of this tyrant. In England each year the working-class pay £140,000,000 to help this tyrant along, or enough in six years to cancel the whole English debt, or to build a house worth £150 for every family in the kingdom.* In America, bread for a year costs \$505,000,000, meat costs \$303,000,000, shoes cost \$196,000,000. But this tyrant oppresses and taxes the people of the nation directly, to say nothing of indirectly, \$900,000,000, almost enough to furnish bread and meat and shoes for the entire nation.† The mass of the women of the country are against this tyrant. The moral and religious sentiment of the country is against him. The laws are in part against him. Every man's conscience is against him. Yet this tyrant unrestrained, oppresses labor, steals wages, deranges industry, weakens productive

* Walker, "The Wages Question," p. 349.

† "The Liquor Problem in all Ages," by Daniel Dorchester, D. D. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Diagram XIII, p. 648.

force, makes every one poorer by the wholesale brigand tax that he levies, degrades manhood, soils womanhood, ruins homes, breaks hearts, turns souls into hell ! O men, business men, workingmen ! Brothers ! Is freedom dead ? Is conscience dead ? Is sense of justice dead ? Is the liberty-loving spirit frozen in our veins ; that we do cower and crouch like belabored hounds beneath the lash of this greatest giant among the giant monopolies that oppress us ; that, by public opinion compelling legislation, and compelling its enforcement, we do not rise up in the might of our manhood, and chain and imprison and kill this monstrous oppressor, this demon tyrant of the still and the grog-shop ?

Here are some of our actual tyrants ! Here are the real robber classes, the slave-drivers, the exploiters. These are our danger ! These are they whose past thieveries and whose present fleecings make Socialism a peril. These are to be confronted, fought with, destroyed.

Every man owes a duty to himself. But the man whose self-interest is not dominated by love to his neighbor ; the man who never finds his higher self by standing with reverent awe before the Christ in his brother, and by serving that Christ in serving his brother ; the man who recognizes no social law, which it is his business in business to regard and obey—this man declares himself an outlaw. He is in society, but he is not of it. He is a social sponge, a parasite, a cancer.

Society that refuses to conform to a moral order, that knows itself only as an aggregate of units and not as an organic life, bound to conserve the weal of each unit and of the whole, is a society disintegrating and doomed.

The State that by its social customs, its industrial arrangement, its habits of trade, its State administration, gives license to selfishness and fraud, and refuses to protect the weak against the strong ; the State that forgets that all true economic law is moral law—whose violation brings its own swift retribution—such a State may discern a fiery hand on the walls of its houses of legislation, its palaces of industry, and its banquet-halls of pleasure, and may read : “Thou art weighed, thou art found wanting ; thy kingdom is taken from thee and given to another,” as the lesson of its history and the verdict of God.

In questions so complex as those we are now considering, we need to make careful discrimination. When it is affirmed that capital, profits, interest, rent, are not robberies, but are economic facts and social and personal rights, upon whose just maintenance all industrial weal is dependent, it is not thereby denied that capitalists are sometimes tyrannical, profits excessive, interest usurious, and rent extortionate. That these wrongs may exist does not, however, prove the facts of capital, etc., unrighteous. They prove only that human nature is not always at its best, and that some human natures are often at their worst. Let us not be afraid to accept truth wherever we find it. Wisdom learns even from enemies. Truth's magnet may draw materials from the iron mountain of error. Socialism is a falsehood. But in the very name is the truth that no man lives well who lives unto himself, since we are a body and members one of another. Let us ask, Is what claims to be a fact, really a fact, no matter who states it? Let us ask, Is what assumes to be a true principle, indeed a true principle, no matter who asserts it? Let us not overlook the righteousness of property and capital because they have been abused, nor refuse to regard the just claims of labor because some agitators have been illogical, violent, and revolutionary. Let us decide each claim upon its merits, and meet each issue, as it arises, upon the ground of fairness and good sense. Let us discriminate.

Let us also be patient. The heritage that the past has transmitted to us has curses in it as well as blessings. The spirit of Roman proletaires and slaves, the serfdoms and churldoms of the middle ages, the pauper tendencies, the laziness, incapacities, ignorances, vices fostered by ages of misgovernment, and handed down by laws of descent from generation to generation—all these tendencies are, it may be, in our veins; certainly they are in the veins of great masses of mankind. And then, within a century, all methods of business, and methods of trade, have been revolutionized. Rushing forces pushing men into the eager competition of life, have taxed thought and time beyond anything ever known in history, and have absorbed men's attention in care for themselves. The spread of materialistic philosophies has turned away contemplation from the heights of spiritual grandeur,

and from the sanctities of moral law. What wonder that there have been mischiefs, confusions, oppressions? But now God's providence cries—"Halt!" Think on your duties as well as on your rights! Consider, in the light of your duty, the claims of other men's rights! Not in an hour will these mischiefs be undone. Only by years, long, long years of difficult, taxing, often disappointing toil, will the deep-set marks of centuries of misrule and wrong-doing be effaced. We have need of patience. To the exercise of that patience we are called.

Let us give ourselves to hopeful service of our fellow-men. There is a social order. We are all parts of it. There is a social law. We are each under it. There is a social duty. We are each to perform it. To promote kindness of feeling between man and man; to help to make wrong things right, and good things better; to promote righteous public opinion, that shall compel legislation to undo mischiefs and to enact, not class benefits, but the largest public good; to purify politics; to make administration wise and administrators competent and clean; to understand for ourselves, and to help others to understand, the high moralities of true economic law; to be ourselves the noblest, truest souls we can be; to attain to that personal morality which is the fruit of loyal love to Jesus Christ and of obedience to His will—these are the supreme interests which claim our consecrated service in this great crisis hour. Such service may be hopeful. Jesus Christ lives. He marks clearly the lines along which His kingdom moves. No man may predict what future society will be. But as Christ reigns, and as we do our duty, future society will be—not a mass of integers, nor yet an equality that has destroyed freedom—but a body, though made up of members, where self-interest will be controlled by love. It will be a society wherein, while each man will bear his own burden, with manly self-respect and self-endeavor, each man will, by personal action and by common social action, bear his brother's burden also, and thus fulfill the law of Christ. "Each for all, and all for each"—is the law of a true social order.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCERNING TRADES-UNIONS AND THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

“The first essential to success in any effort for the prevention of disputes, is the possession of a conciliatory spirit and a ready disposition to consider the rights and interests of both sides.”—*Professor Fawcett*.

THE spirit of association is the spirit of man. It is essential to civilization. For ages men have been uniting, not only as families and as society, but in special unions for worshipping or feasting together, or for mutual help in sickness and poverty, or for the promotion of some common object of trade and industry. The right of association was from the beginning a recognized principle of Roman law. Numa encouraged the formation of craft-guilds. During the Empire large numbers of trade societies flourished at Rome and throughout Italy, Gaul, and the East.* In Greece also, during the second and third centuries B. C., there were numerous bodies of a similar sort. The word guild meant a drinking-bout, at which money (geld) was contributed for some common object. The word was first used in connection with the Shoemakers' Union of Magdeburg, in A. D. 1157.† During the middle ages guilds flourished throughout all Europe. Such trades as masons and stonecutters formed a system of lodges, with headquarters at Strasbourg, which included all the masons and stonecutters of Germany, France, England, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Hungary. These middle age guilds soon became aristocratic institutions, and all power was concentrated

* “Labor in Europe and America,” Edward Young, pp. 57-60.

† “The Trade Guilds of Europe.” Washington: Government Printing-Office, 1885, p. 6.

in the hands of the masters. Yet these associations were the historic ancestry of modern labor unions.*

It is to England, however, and to the beginnings of the modern industrial revolution that we must look for the birth and progress of trades-unions. For almost five centuries it had been a crime in England for workingmen to combine to bring their labor into the best market. "The motive for this restrictive legislation was never concealed. It was designed in order to increase rents and profits at the cost of wages."† Then came steam and machinery. The domestic system of industry was broken up. Spinning-wheels and hand-loom disappeared. Spinning-jennies and power-loom took their places. Hundreds of workers were concentrated within the same walls.‡ "Any attempt on the part of workmen," says Mr. Rogers, "to combine for the purpose of selling their labor at better rates was met with stern repression ; any overt act with sharp punishment. The English workmen earned all the wealth and bore nearly all the cost of the long Napoleonic wars, on which the fortunes of manufacturers and land-owners, and the glory of statesmen and generals, were founded. High profits were extracted from the labor of little children, and the race was starved and stunted, while mill-owners, land-owners, and stock-jobbers collected their millions from the wages of those whose toils they regulated and whose strength they exhausted."§ This sort of thing could not last. The very conditions which furnished the opportunity for oppression, brought also the means of freedom. These hundreds of men and women could not be long associated in daily work without finding out that association was needful for improving the condition of the workers.

Just when and how the movement originated we do not know. But soon oppression began to meet with resistance. To combine for this resistance was criminal. To combine for advance in wages, or to object to their decrease, was criminal.

* Also of the order of Free and Accepted Masons.

† Rogers's "Work and Wages," p. 439.

‡ Toynbee's "Industrial Revolution," etc.—Argyll's "Reign of Law," chap. vii.

§ Rogers, p. 438.

But stealthily grew the spirit of revolt. Steadily grew the workingmen's unions. The law, the Government, the employers, the nobility, the gentry, the press, all were against them. Yet they grew. Strikes, violence, bloodshed, incendiarism, labor riots, destruction of machinery, became matters of frequent occurrence. The attention of the Government was aroused, and after a thorough parliamentary inquiry, the repressive laws were repealed in 1824. The peaceable combination of workmen for legitimate ends was no longer a crime. Many hindrances and vexatious oppressions were still enacted by legislation. It was not until 1871 that the final act of emancipation was passed by Parliament. But since 1824 the cause of English trade-unionism has steadily advanced; until now organizations of workmen are legal corporations, "ramifying through every county, ensconced in every town, and almost every trade" in the kingdom, and are rapidly reaching a leading place among the institutions of the nation.

In the United States the work of labor organization has proceeded with great rapidity, especially since 1860. To-day almost all trades have some form of union. Some of these are national, others international. What are called Central Unions are composed of delegates of various unions in special localities. There are also trade congresses, representing all trades and all sections. These unions include only a portion of the working classes. Many of the best workmen prefer to remain independent. Many of the incompetent are refused admission to the unions. But the very fact of organization gives to these unions a power quite disproportionate to the numbers concerned. The fact also that their numerical strength is greatest in the centers of industry, while the majority of unorganized workmen belong to the rural districts and smaller towns, largely increases the area of "union" influence. In Philadelphia, in 1869, the Knights of Labor were organized. This was a secret, though, it is said, not an oath-bound society. Its aim is broader than that of the trades-unions. It believes that the interests of labor are common interests, and that the alliance of one trade with other trades is an alliance not entangling but helpful. It admits women to membership. It excludes only lawyers, bankers, professional gamblers, stock-jobbers, and those who, in whole or in part or

through any member of their family, make their living by the manufacture or sale of intoxicants. It affiliates with labor unions, and makes their cause its own, though it does not directly control them. Its National Assembly at the last two sessions "contained delegates whose occupations embraced medicine, the pulpit, journalism, teaching, manufacturing, trading, and many of the skilled and prominent trades and handicrafts."* It has assemblies in almost every State, in the Canadas, in England, Scotland, Belgium, and France. The window-glass workers of this country, England, and Belgium are a constituent part of the Order. It has now more than five thousand local assemblies in the United States.

Here, then, is this vast force of organized labor, not indeed representing all labor, nor yet attaining the system and the discipline of the English unions, but with a force sufficiently gigantic and certain to be with us for many years to come. What shall we say about this force? How shall we deal with it? Some years ago I read Charles Reade's "Put Yourself in His Place," a novel based upon English labor disturbances. A few years later I heard Anna Dickinson's lecture on "Trades Unions." The novel and the lecture set me very decidedly against the working of the trades-union principle, as against a thing wholly bad. Subsequent observation and reading have removed that early prejudice. In Great Britain public opinion on these matters is far more intelligent than public opinion in America, and far in advance of it. It is well-nigh impossible for the average middle-aged American, not of the wage-earning class, to understand what right these unions have to exist. They are wholly pestilential, he thinks. But pestilential or not, here they are, and here they are likely to stay. That a thing "is" does not necessarily make it "right." Many things have come into our modern life, and doubtless come to stay, which have no possible justification beyond the fact of their existence, and that, of itself, justifies nothing. But I claim that labor organizations do not belong to the category of things whose only justification is in their existence. Labor organization has reasons for existence. It

* Art. "American Labor Organizations," Richard J. Hinton, "N. A. Rev.," vol. cxi, p. 58.

has a right to existence. It has reasons and a right founded on the nature of man, on the nature of labor, on the conditions of industry, on the law, not of force, but of justice. No one, except the special pleader and the man determined not to see, can study the industrial history of the world for the past thousand years without reaching the conclusion that the organization of labor was essential to its very existence.

What is the spirit, the aim, the meaning of trades-unions? We let Mr. Howell, an English Trades Unionist, answer: "In their essence trades-unions are voluntary associations of workmen for mutual assistance in securing generally the most favorable conditions of labor. This is their primary and fundamental object, and includes all efforts to raise wages or resist a reduction of wages; to diminish the hours of labor, or resist attempts to increase the working hours, and to regulate all matters relating to methods of employment or discharge and mode of working."* Is it wrong for men voluntarily to associate to promote their own interests; unless we conclude that the promotion of one's own interest, with due regard to other people's interests, is itself a wrong? Is it wrong when a workman finds that, single-handed, he is at immense disadvantage in getting the best market for his labor, if he shall join with one, ten, a thousand other workmen, in trying to get the best market? Of course it is only a rude way of speaking when we speak of a labor market. Labor is not properly a commodity in the sense in which wheat, cotton, shoes, are commodities. Labor differs from all these in some vital particulars.† Yet since no more convenient phrases are at hand,

* "The Conflict of Labor and Capital." By George Howell. London: Chatto & Windus, 1878, p. 147.

† "In order to an equal bargain for commodities, the parties must have equal knowledge of the state of the market. This is not usually the fact in the sale of labor. For an equal bargain, both parties must have a reserve price. Labor usually has no such price for which it can stand out; a prolonged bargaining over the sale of goods does not convulse the industrial system, but a bargain about the price of labor involves the social condition of a whole class. If two bargainers are on equal footing they have an equal indifference to each other. But the laborer usually needs the employer more than the employer needs the laborer." Condensed from Toynbee's "Industrial Revolution," etc., pp. 169-171.

rude and inaccurate as are the phrases, we may speak of the commodity labor and the labor market. One man offering the use of his brain or his hands, or both, in exchange for wages, is a retail labor market. A trade-union is a wholesale labor market. The principle of wholesaling is not wrong. You do not object to wholesale stores, to stock and produce exchanges, to Boards of Trade, to railroad pools in themselves. If honest competition or honest combination among merchants and manufacturers, to regulate prices of goods, is not of itself an iniquity to be denounced, why must trades-union committees, who act as brokers regulating the price of labor, be any more denounced? Labor unions, a right to be? Yes, if labor has any right to be. Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate, made this statement to a witness: "That is the point I want to bring out. I want to get clearly before the country the position that the laborer occupies, and to let it appear that, but for these labor organizations, which you testify to be, and which I believe to be, wholly within the law and contemplating nothing but legal means, the workmen would be helpless."*

The time has gone by in England, and it ought to go by in America, when trades-unionism needs any apologist. Its history is its vindication. It has won for workingmen what ought to have been granted, but what, as things are, never would have been won without it.† It has exposed the economic fallacy of a "wages fund." It has raised wages without increasing the cost of production. It has improved production in quality and increased it in quantity. It has contributed largely to secure the improvement in the condition

* "Report of Senate Com. on Labor," vol. i, p. 14.

† "Employers have constantly predicted that ruin would come on the great industries of the country if workmen were better paid and better treated. They resisted, and have resisted up to the present day, every demand which workmen have made for the right of association, for the limitation of children's and women's labor, for the shortening of hours, for the abolition of truck, for the protection of the workmen's lives and limbs from preventable accidents, and are now appealing to the doctrine of liberty of contract, after having for centuries denied the liberty."—Rogers's "Work and Wages," p. 506.

of the working classes in England and America during the last fifty years.

Oh, but the violence, the intimidation, the strikes, the ignorance, the prejudices, the fallacious theories, the outburst of passion ! Yes ; but can not many of the same things be said of the growth of other institutions which we regard as legitimate and beneficial ? When we remember the history of the Christian Church, the history of humanity, and by what terrific throes good evolves itself out of and through evil, we must not be too hard upon workingmen. Are we perfect ? Do we commit no blunders ? Are we never carried away by passion ? Are we always able to balance with perfect accuracy the conflicting interests of ourselves and our fellows ? " Put yourself in his place." That is a good rule, when one wants to judge honestly and fairly. Remember that the unusually prosperous condition of English labor during the fifteenth century was largely owing to the influence of the labor guilds which English legislation, during that century, was unable to suppress.* Remember how labor has been oppressed. Remember that, in the early period of the modern industrial revolution, labor was being reduced to slavery. Remember that these modern labor organizations, made necessary by bad conditions, and made possible by the very causes which, unhindered, made the conditions bad, were repressed with passionate violence and obstructed by malignant watchfulness, so long as repression and obstruction were possible. Remember that a thousand evil prophecies have been uttered against them which have never been fulfilled. Remember that not until 1824 could these unions exist openly, and that not until 1871 did they have a fully legalized and corporate existence in England, while in this country they have never been adequately organized, protected, and regulated by law. Remember that the majority of those who composed these unions were men ignorant by necessity, suspicious as hunted animals are suspicious, distrustful of advice because so often deceived by advice, with many violent and vicious men among them. And then with all the facts in mind ask yourself whether it is wonderful that there have been mistakes, mischiefs, crimes, much folly in

* Rogers's " Work and Wages," p. 565.

principle, and much wrong in fact. Is it not rather the wonder that there have not been many more of these characteristics which arouse our complaints? There have been unwise restrictions, tyrannical regulations, vast aggressions, and hindrances to intelligent labor and to best production. Yes! But these are incidental. Many of the petty tyrannies, which are quoted even now as characteristics of trades-unionism, belong to the past. They have been outgrown. Many others will be outgrown. The workingmen, in spite of all the blunders that have been made, ought to be proud of their organized history. I, as a man, sharing their common humanity am proud of their history on their behalf. Notwithstanding the disadvantages and the dangers of these institutions, I agree with the conclusion of Mr. Rogers: "I confess to having at one time viewed them suspiciously; but a long study of the history of labor has convinced me that they are not only the best friends of the workman, but the best agency for the employer and the public, and that to the extension of these associations political economists and statesmen must look for the solution of some of the most pressing and the most difficult problems of our own time."*

The general public, as a rule, knows these labor unions only by the more violent and aggressive incidents of their history. But the general public knows little, and seems to care less, for the quiet, steady, beneficent influences which these unions are exerting upon workingmen. Assistance in sickness and misfortune; practical sympathy in affliction; the growing sense of mutual dependence, which begets mutual affection; the influence of a strict, even if sometimes an oppressive and too exacting discipline, which trains in the virtues of order and of obedience to law; the education of the mind, and the enlargement of the intelligence, by the struggle toward organization, by the discussion of economic facts and principles, and by the diffusion of industrial information—

* "Work and Wages," p. 523. "Mr. F. A. Lange, the historian of materialism, who wrote on labor questions with a strong socialist leaning, said to Brentano that his account of English trades-unions had entirely converted him from a belief that a socialistic experiment was necessary."—"Trades-Unionism in England," art. vii, "The Providence Journal," March 11, 1886.

these things have characterized the history of labor unions, and will characterize them more in the future. "I believe," said Mr. Thornton, speaking of English unions, "I believe that while hitherto, protection against material evil, and acquisition of material good, have been their chief care, higher objects are beginning to claim their attention, and intellectual and moral improvement are coming in for a share of solicitude." Mr. Thornton also tells us that in the lodges of London bricklayers, drunkenness and swearing are expressly interdicted, and under the auspices of the Amalgamated Carpenters, industrial schools are being established. "These," he says, "are straws on the surface, showing how the current of unionist opinion is flowing."*

Take, in illustration of the aims and methods of labor unions, the wide-spread organization known as the Knights of Labor. As has been said, this body, though now international, is of American origin. The first article of its preamble tells us that it aims "to bring within the folds of organization every department of productive industry, making knowledge a standpoint for action, and industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the standard of individual and national greatness." One could certainly forgive more errors in principle, and more blunders in action, than there is need to forgive, for the sake of this crystal foundation-stone, enunciating clearly a principle so true, so noble, so Christian, so akin to the spirit of Him who said: "For a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." I have studied carefully the declaration of principles issued by these Knights of Labor, and the constitution by which they are governed. They spend time in every session of their local assemblies in the discussion of economic problems. Whenever the discussion arouses bad temper, the presiding officer is obliged to dissolve the assembly. It is hoped that they study good masters in economics; that they do not accept without searching inquiry many so-called economic facts which make up much of their current literature, and that their example as to economic studies, and good temper in economic discipline, will be largely imitated

* "On Labor." By William Thomas Thornton. London: Macmillan & Co., 1870, p. 356.

by the general public. From a few of their principles I am obliged to dissent. I do not believe in what are known as "Greenback" or "Fiat Money" theories of national finance.

These men and women ask that bureaus of labor statistics be established. They seek by their own action the establishment of co-operative institutions, productive and distributive. They ask for the reservation of public lands for actual settlers, with not another acre for railroads and speculators. They seek the abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capital and labor; and for removal of unjust technicalities and delays and discriminations in the administration of justice;* and for the adoption of measures for the health and safety of workmen. They ask for weekly pay of wages in lawful money, and not in truck or orders or promises; and for first liens on their own work for their full wages. They ask for the abolition of the system of prison contracts and of contracts on national, State, and municipal work. They ask for the prohibition in mines, workshops, and factories, of the labor of all children under fourteen years of age. They ask for both sexes equal pay for equal work, and the reduction of hours of labor.† Who can rightly gainsay the fact that these demands are founded on private and social justice and on economic common sense? And when these workingmen further and chiefly ask that to the toilers may be secured a proper share of the wealth they help to create,‡ certainly few honest

* "Help, master, help! Here's a fish hangs in the net, like a poor man's rights in the law; 'twill hardly come out." Shakespeare, "Pericles," Act ii, scene i.

† Paraphrased from Constitution of the General Assembly, etc., of the Order of the Knights of Labor of America. Preamble, pp. 2-4. See also, Report of Senate Committee on Labor, vol. i, p. 2.

Article, "Shall the Eight-Hour System be Adopted?" George Gunton, "The Forum," vol. i, April, 1886, pp. 136-148.

‡ The phrase "help to create" is not the one the workingman uses. He says "create." Herein is a fallacy. Mr. Rogers has not escaped it, when he speaks of workingmen as earning all English wealth. A witness before the Senate Committee on Labor did not escape it, when he said that the workmen who created the wealth received little, while the idler secured almost all. Ordinary labor-discussions do not escape this fallacy. Technical "labor" is not the sole creator of wealth. It is the workman's claim to a more just share of

and fair-minded people will be found who will fail to discern the strict justice of this claim, or will withhold their own urgent insistence that a demand so reasonable shall meet with equally reasonable regard and compliance.

But here comes an objector who tells us of intimidation, of refusals to work with non-union men, of actual outrage and violence. He will point us to Chinese massacres, to St. Louis street-car dynamiters, to Hocking Valley and Pine Run rioters. But corporations themselves have sometimes fomented violence.* And then, alas! not all the virtues are found in every workman. Some are ignorant, some are vicious, some are brutal. The Chinese massacres were a blot on civilization and a lasting shame, for the lack of fairness and manliness, to all who participated in or encouraged them. But these outbreaks are not the genuine spirit of organized labor; they are a total contradiction of that spirit. The Knights of Labor reprobated the action of the members of their order in St. Louis. They withdrew from the California Convention that had resolved on the banishment of the Chinese.† It is not fair to judge the cause of labor by the excesses of some of its advocates, any more than it is fair to judge that capitalists are oppressors and robbers, because some capitalists are tyrants and thieves. Violence and oppression are to be condemned on their own demerits. And the true spirit of labor condemns them.

Mr. Howell, a chief official of English trades-unions, may well speak for his cause in words to which every workman ought to give good heed, as to a guide to his own temper and conduct, and to which every employer ought to give fair hearing, as to an official expression of the spirit of organized labor. Says Mr. Howell: "That some of the aims of trades-unions, in days gone by, were fully entitled to be called 'in restraint of

the total product, to whose value his labor has so largely contributed, that is here indorsed. See above, chapter vi, pp. 73-78.

* Violence on the part of workmen or "looters" is sometimes incited in the interest of stock-jobbing. See article, "Camden and Amboy Transportation Company," "North American Review," 1867.

† They believe that the Chinese coolies "must go," and that no more ought to come "under contract." But the clear heads and honest hearts among them do not believe in violence.

trade,' can not be denied ; that there is a remnant of the old spirit left in some unions can not be gainsaid ; but in general the description does not now apply." "Those who denounce injustice in others must be careful not to incur a like condemnation by their own departure from the principles of equity." "Workmen must learn this salutary lesson, that no man has a right to interfere with the freedom of another. The man who attempts to do so commits a blunder greater than he can estimate, as well as violates a law which it is to the interest and duty of all to observe." "Personal interference with non-union workmen, by threats, obstructions, or by any other coercive means, is manifestly unlawful and unjustifiable. . . . It is contrary alike to common sense and to sound policy. . . . It becomes an intolerable piece of tyranny in those who clamor for just and equal law." "The refusal to work with a non-unionist workman is one of the rocks of trades-unions ; the practice can not be defended, either on social or political grounds, and the sooner it is altogether abandoned the better." "The more complete and compact the organization of labor, the more effectual is its discipline . . . and the more will it exert an influence over the wildest and most violent of its members, and repress, with an authority they can not resist, any tendency toward lawlessness and revolt."*

Our objector will tell us of strikes. Strikes are declarations of economic war, sometimes foolish, sometimes criminal, always costly, but not always inexpedient or unjust. Strikes are economic war. They are a special application of the law of supply and demand. They are monopolies, corners in the wholesale labor market. Yet they may sometimes be necessary. But well-organized labor has doubtless prevented more strikes than it has caused. Workmen are coming to know the economic limits of their power. The best trades-unions deprecate strikes. The Knights of Labor deprecate them. Says Mr. Powderly, the Master Workman : "A strike is the weapon of force, and 'who overcomes by force hath overcome but half his foe.' I fail to see any lasting good in strikes."†

* George Howell, "Conflicts of Labor and Capital," pp. 320, 321, 341, 349, 366, etc.

† "N. A. Rev.," vol. 135, p. 123.—Concerning the great strikes on Western

Our objector will tell us of the "boycott." Yes, "the boycott" is here, the latest form of strike, the most terrible weapon of social warfare within the limits of law, if, indeed, it is always within the limits of law. I do not believe in the boycott. I can not find for it even the justification of necessity. It violates a recognized principle of all warfare, the neutrality of non-combatants. It compels an entire community to participate in a conflict to which they are not parties. To follow boycotted goods for a thousand miles, and say to men, you shall not buy these at your peril, is unlawful interference with the freedom of trade. It is paralysis of industry. It is putting the grindstone against the wrong noses. It is a social terror. It tends to alienate and to blind to real grievance that moral public opinion which labor needs if it would peacefully secure its legitimate claims.*

and Southwestern railroads, Mr. Powderly says: "If many of the men who are striking would display a little more common sense and use a little more patience, they would get all they are striking for and save their time and money in the bargain. If they would exercise proper moderation in their negotiations with employers and submit their claims, firmly made and properly represented, to arbitration, I am free to say that I am sure that nine out of ten cases which end in a strike could be as satisfactorily arranged without resorting to such an extreme and generally doubtful expedient. Indeed, in the nine cases there would be no necessity for a strike." From "The Providence Journal," March 11, 1886. "Mr. Arthur, Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, said in a recent interview: 'Our order is opposed to strikes. We believe that arbitration and peaceful methods will accomplish all that can be asked if our cause is a just and right one. The strike is the last and desperate resort.'"—"Providence Journal," March 20, 1886.

* The "boycott" is not a modern invention. In its present form it was suggested by an American, and first carried into effect, in Ireland, against Captain Boycott from whom it takes its name. But it is an old method. The ban of the Jews against lepers, the excommunication ~~hans~~ against heretics pronounced by the synagogues and the Church, the "tea-fight" of the American colonists, the "black lists" of manufacturers against workmen, were all, in spirit, boycotts. In justification of the method the advocates of the boycott affirm: That in a social conflict there can be no such thing as a non-combatant. All are parties to the question at issue. They who patronize an oppressor of labor by the purchase of his goods are furnishing him with the sinews of war. The boycott is often the only method of educating the community as to the necessity for arbitration as the true means of preventing strikes. In a contest where power of wealth and influence is all on one side, and only power of numbers on the other, some strong weapon must be seized by those

Here, then, is this great force. What will you do with it? This is a question for business men to answer. Your own welfare, the welfare of workmen, the welfare of society, are involved in the answer. These questions are imminent questions. You must answer them wisely, or anarchy impends. You may refuse to answer. You may say, This is none of our business. You may resent, as a supreme impertinence, the existence of these organizations. You may assail them with sophistries or with lock-outs. But you only make workmen believe more firmly in the worth of organization. You embitter them. Of course, if this method is politic, humane, Christian, you had better pursue it. But surely this method is not humane. It is not Christian. There is a far nobler and safer way.

Business men! These workingmen are, before the eye of God, your equals as to human right. As American citizens, most of them are your political peers. In the large partnership of industrial production, they are in a real sense your colleagues. You lose no dignity and no possible advantage by dealing with them as equals and colleagues. You can not afford to deal with them in any other way. Counsel with them. Set before them in fullest manner, without concealment, your side of the case. Listen patiently and respectfully to their side. Put yourselves in their places. Be fair and frank with them. Most mischiefs come from misunderstanding. The men of the plate-glass industry never strike, because their employers keep them always informed of the conditions of the trade. If you and your men fail to agree, then arbitrate.

whose strength is only in their numbers and in the righteousness of their cause. The tendency and the design of the boycott is to end boycotts and strikes by putting arbitration in their place.—Even in the face of such an apparently reasonable plea, I can not modify my strictures. The boycott is a sword that cuts both ways. It allows the aggrieved party to be judge, jury, prosecuting attorney, executioner,*all in one, and calls upon a whole community to indorse the verdict, and participate in the execution. It is often as unjust and oppressive toward workingmen as it is toward employers. It is a weapon whereby workmen and unions may be used as tools by employers or corporations for the damage or destruction of a rival. It is a right only as revolution is a right. For it is revolution, not evolution,

The leading trades-unions seek arbitration as a remedy for strikes. The Knights of Labor proclaim arbitration—arbitration to avoid a strike, arbitration to end it—as a cardinal doctrine of their creed. All honor to the horny hands that thus stretch out the olive-branch, and that have flung forth into the smoke of war the white banner of the “Truce of God”!

Arbitrate? Not I. My business is my own; I will manage it in my own way, and will brook no interference. True enough, your business is your own, but not wholly to manage as you please. You can not become a public nuisance without becoming an object of public concern. Every business man is a public servant. And when a public servant, by obstinacy or inordinate pride, refuses a fair method of avoiding a disturbance of industrial peace, society may have somewhat to say unto that servant. Sirs, if you, employing partners, can not agree with your employed partners, or they will not agree with you, then voluntarily, or by methods established by law, arbitrate. For arbitrate you must, since, somehow, society must have peace. War is barbarous. Arbitration is civilized and humane. War is likely to become devilish. Arbitration is Christian.

I have confidence in the fair-mindedness and good intention and kindly spirit of the average employer. I have confidence in the fair-mindedness of the average workman. I believe that what Mr. Rogers says of the English workman is largely true of our own: “He has never dreamed of making war upon capital and capitalists. In his most combative temper he has simply desired to come to terms with capital, and to gain a benefit by the harmonious working of a binding treaty between himself and his employer.”*

The history of industrial conciliation and arbitration in France, where the legal system was established in 1806 by Napoleon I, and of the voluntary system introduced into England in 1860 by Rupert Kettle and A. P. Mundella, and which for many industrial localities has abolished strikes, are histories which every American ought to study, and which all industrial forces ought to reproduce.† Why may not the day

* Rogers's “Work and Wages,” p. 491.

† Art. “Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation.” By Joseph D. Weeks,

come when honest business men and intelligent workingmen shall know the needs and the burdens that becloud each other's lives, shall have the light of each other's experience, and shall stand shoulder to shoulder in their productive tasks, warring in joint array against the robber classes who hamper the prosperity of the one, and against the ignorance and fanaticism that injure the thrift and the welfare of the other? Ye captains of industry! For wise policy's sake, for fair profit's sake, for the sake of humanity and social order, for His sake whose gracious rule brings peace, let arbitration take the place of strife and end it.

In closing this chapter, it may not be amiss if I address a few sentences to any Knights of Labor who may read these pages. I have given such emphatic indorsement to the general conservatism of the spirit, and to the moral and economic fairness of most of the specific aims of your order, that I am sure you will not take unkindly a few words of caution. You may have among you men whose views are very radical and possibly absurd. Such people are found in every social class. Leaflets have gone into my scrap-basket, written by those who claim to represent you—men whose stock of economic philosophy consists of a few half-truths, a few real facts, and a host of things quite otherwise than real and true. Let your intelligence refuse to be guided and let your passions become incapable of arousal by such would-be leaders. They are Will-o'-the-wisps, that will beguile you into marshes; not true lights that will point you to safe harbor. Do not misuse your power. You are a power—a vast power for good or for ill. Ill to society, from you, means inevitable ill to yourselves. Men in masses do strange things sometimes. All power is a temptation to tyranny. But no tyranny in others can justify tyranny in you. "It is noble to have a giant's strength, but it is brutal to use it like a giant." Do not count all capitalists knaves, nor all employers oppressors. Study true economic

"Lalor's Cycl.," vol. ii, p. 503. Toynbee's "Industrial Revolution, etc.," p. 198. "Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration." By Carroll D. Wright. Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., 1881. "Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor," 1881, pp. 1-75. "Corporations, Employés, and the Public," "N. A. Rev.," vol. cxi, pp. 101-119.

principles and all current economic conditions, that you may know whether your demands are rational, possible, or just. Regard other men's rights and your duties, as well as other men's duties and your rights. Do not waste much time in moping over the wrongs you may suffer. Put them on record; summarize them in statistics; let society know them. Be sure society will at last judge them rightly. But do not make your assemblies hospitals for the exposure of running sores. And remember that a wise physician will never let a patient feel too often of his own pulse.

You call yourselves Knights; a noble name. You know its meaning—servants; servants of labor; servants of a social weal through labor. Your name embodies a Christian principle; for by true service all worthy greatness is attained, and all best power is wielded by humility. One, the Christ, is Lord of all, because He became servant of all. Be His servants, His knights. Maintain all knightly honor in the furtherance of your common aims. Knighthood should be intelligent, honest, open, fair. It should war against ignorance, untruth, malice. It should set itself against sloth, slander, foul talk, unclean thought, unchaste action. It should put its lance in rest against shabby, scamp and incompetent work, and against poor and false materials, and against whatever tarnishes the honor of labor, whether done by employers or fellow-workmen. May God give you for your personal warfare as men and women, and for your organized conflict against every real wrong, the panoply of a very divine righteousness. As Joseph Arch, President of the English Agricultural Labor Union, said to his comrades, so I say to you: "Let peace and moderation mark all your meetings. Let courtesy, fairness and firmness characterize your demands. Be united and you will be strong. Be temperate and you will be respected."

CHAPTER IX.

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION.

“As the power of self-existence in Nature includes all other attributes, so self-help in the people includes all the conditions of progress. Co-operation is organized self-help—that is what the complexion of the future will be.”—*George Jacob Holyoake.*

THE mystery of the incarnation of Jesus, regarded as of divine purpose, is a purpose of infinite scope and eternal reach ; regarded as a fact in human history, it is a fact of wide and various meanings. And surely in the purpose and amid the meanings we may clearly discern this purpose and meaning, that God became man in Jesus Christ that men might know the worth of personal manhood and the value of human brotherhood. It was the whole race of men, yet the separate souls of men as men, that God so loved that He gave His Son. Poverty was the outward condition of Christ's human life, yet in His veins flowed the blood of kings. He sat at rich men's tables, yet His proud hosts knew that it was not because they were rich, but because they were men, that He sought their company. He entered poor men's homes, but every poor man knew that Christ's honor was paid not to his poverty but to his manhood.

Since Jesus Christ brought God to man that He might lift up men to God, the greatest thing in all the world is man—man without accidents of ignorance, or knowledge of poverty or riches—a man, as a man. But this manhood never finds its highest meaning in isolation, whether of solitariness or of selfishness. True individualism needs, for its completeness, social action ; even as the best social progress demands unhampered individualism. The law of love which Christ taught and illustrated is law disobeyed, unless the fact of per-

sonal manhood is correlated and completed by the fact of social brotherhood.

In the midst of an industrial war, when organization is not only the right but the necessity and the duty of both parties to the conflict, may not the very fact of organization be invoked to teach these contending factions the lesson of peace? Certainly we can not regard with complacency the division of the industrial forces into the two watchful and warring camps, of capitalist and workmen, as a permanent condition. Even arbitration, far better than actual war, is at best only a truce, not a peace. While the force of capital is largely in one set of hands and the force of labor in another set of hands, there will be no permanent peace. These interests must somehow become common, not only as ideal economic truths, but as actual economic condition. The fair lass of the white rose House of York—Capital—must somehow give herself in marriage to the sturdy lad of the red rose House of Lancaster—Labor. Then the civil feud that drains the best blood of both will end. How the laborer may become a capitalist is the problem now before us.

While great wealth in some hands is not of itself a social ill, but is, on the whole, a social good, yet a wider distribution of wealth, more of it in many hands, is an acknowledged and an imperative social necessity.* How shall this necessity be met?

All forms of socialism and communism have their answers for this question. But these answers we have seen to be, in their essence, a reversal of the tides of history. If there are those who choose to waste time with the communist in dreaming of a day when the vast wealth of this nation will be equally divided among the entire population, let them continue to dream their dreams. Meanwhile practical people, who honestly object to every sort of robbery, but who are not content with existing conditions, are striving after some more moral, more Christian, more adequate solution. One attempted solution is known as co-operation.

* "Free institutions run continual risk of shipwreck when power is the possession of the many, but property—from whatever cause—the enjoyment of the few." Rae's "Contemporary Socialism," p. 27.

Co-operation is working together. The members of the physical body are co-operant factors in the body's weal. Co-operation is one of the laws of things. Without it nature would be not a cosmos, a beautiful order, but a chaos, a repulsive disorder. Without it there could be no Church, no State, no society, no industry. Division of labor more and more minute demands co-operation in labor more and more complete. The whole trend of modern production is toward some form of co-operation. Private enterprise is becoming associated enterprise.

Corporation and co-operation have different roots, but common meanings. Corporation means a body. But a body is made up of members co-operating. Mills, factories, railroads, telegraphs are built, owned, managed by corporations. Small streams of capital flow together into one large stream of capital, and the wheels of vast industries revolve. Although the combination of large or small capitalists in a corporation is a true co-operative enterprise, yet it is a union of workingmen, not capitalists, in an endeavor to become, in a sense, capitalists, to which the word co-operation is technically applied.* There is a form of co-operation known as profit-sharing, where the employer takes the initiative in an endeavor after a wider distribution of products, which will be treated in the following chapter. For the present, we consider only that form of co-operation, where the joint industry is the result of the efforts, the sacrifices, the management of workingmen.

Co-operation, as an economic principle, is the union of workingmen for the production and distribution of wealth. When consistent with its own principle, it leaves out of the distribution nobody who helps in the production. Its eulogist and historian says of it : " It touches no man's fortune ; it seeks no plunder ; it gives no trouble to statesmen ; it contemplates no violence ; it subverts no order ; it envies no dignity ; it accepts no gift nor asks any favor ; it keeps no terms with the idle, and will break no faith with the industrious. It is neither mendicant, servile, nor offensive ; it has its hand in

* " Capital, the hitherto unmanageable mother of progress, co-operation proposes to acquire for itself and to control its uses by equity."—George J. Holyoake, article " State Socialism," " Nineteenth Century," June, 1879, p. 1119.

no man's pocket, and does not mean that any hands shall remain long or comfortably in its own. It means self-help, self-dependence, and such share of the common competence as labor can earn, or thought can win. And this it intends to have, but by means which shall leave every other person an equal share of the same good." * As a principle, co-operation is quite distinct from Socialism or Communism. Says a writer in the "Encyclopædia Britannica": "It takes its departure from Communism at a very definite and significant point. While the latter would extinguish the motive of individual gain and possession in the sentiment of universal happiness or good, and remodel all the existing rights, laws, and arrangements of society on a basis deemed consonant to this end, co-operation seeks, in consistency with the fundamental institutes of society as hitherto developed, to ameliorate the social condition by a concurrence of an increasing number of associates in a common interest." †

True co-operation has no thought of stealing capital from those who have amassed it. Rather, by employment of co-operative economy it seeks to save, or by entering into industrial partnership it strives to earn its own capital. The co-operative principle had been known and practically illustrated before Robert Owen, capitalist, manufacturer, philanthropist, had, in 1821, issued his "Economist" newspaper. The lead-miners of Cornwall, the British whalemens, the American China traders, the Greek merchant sailors of the Mediterranean, had all been practically co-operators. But it was Owen who, in the first issue of the "Economist," introduced the term into industrial literature.

Owen's theory of co-operation was really a form of communism. He showed his faith in it by expending a large fortune in its promotion, and by establishing at New Lanark in Scotland, and at New Harmony in America, communities which he hoped would be models for the imitation of the world. With all Owen's fallacies of principle, he accom-

* "The History of Co-operation in England," by George Jacob Holyoake. London: Trübner & Co., 1875, vol. i, p. 6.

† R. Somers, article "Co-operation," "Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition, vol. vi, p. 801, a.

plished a great work for social weal. He was the founder of the English primary-school system. He was the first to shorten hours of labor, and was a zealous advocate of factory legislation. He was the real author of the co-operative movement. For more than twenty years, the history of co-operation in England was a history of experiments ending only in disaster. The communistic element in the principle prevented it from making much headway against practical English common sense. There was great enthusiasm. The land was flooded with pamphlets and periodicals. Orators were everywhere discoursing. Societies were everywhere organized. But no practical results followed. The principle must work itself clear of its incumbrances.*

At length, in Rochdale, in 1844, a new experiment was tried. The story of the Rochdale pioneers is a hackneyed one. Everybody who has taken the slightest glance at the literature of co-operation is familiar with it. Yet it is a story that can

* These experimental movements, and especially the missionary and educational work done by co-operators, had a large share in securing the final result. In 1829, twenty-five workmen began a night-school in two small rooms in Salford, Manchester. They kept school on Sunday also. Visitors came from far and near. Botany, chemistry, mechanics, drawing, were taught. Co-operation was preached. Opposition was excited. The clergy charged the movement with atheistic tendencies. In 1830, the "Manchester Times" said: "The people who favor these reforms are a set of visionary fools, and have not their equals in either ancient or modern history. Who ever conceived the idea of public parks, of public free libraries for factory-people, of shorter hours of labor, of museums for the people? Why, it is absurd!" The small rooms were outgrown. A large hall was offered by one of the members, and fitted up as class-rooms, lecture-hall, and kitchen. The lecture-hall would seat one thousand people. A missionary corps was organized, after the style of the Methodists. In 1835, a new hall was built, seating two thousand. This was crowded on Sundays. Missionaries pushed out to surrounding towns. Among other places regularly visited was Rochdale. Rochdale workmen began to attend the school at Manchester. Six weavers determined to try co-operation. They contributed four cents a week until they had saved five dollars. Tea and oatmeal were purchased in Manchester and distributed in the room of one of the weavers. The net profit was sixty cents. The Toad Lane experiment soon followed.

These facts were communicated to me by Mr. John W. Ashton, one of the first workers in the Salford school in 1829. Mr. Ashton afterward gave the facts to a reporter for "The People," of Providence, R. I., and they were published in the issues of that journal, January 2 and January 9, 1886.

not be told too often. Twenty-eight journeymen, most of them flannel-weavers, subscribe two or three pence a week until at last each man has £1 of paid-up stock, the total shares amounting to £28. Some sacks of flour, one of oatmeal, a hundred-weight of sugar, and a firkin of butter are bought. A store is hired in one of the by-streets of the town. The co-operators are ready for business. They assemble in their little shop, ashamed to open it. At last one man has the courage to take the shutters down. All Toad Lane rings with shouts of derision. This Toad Lane rabble had not read history. No man who reads history, no man whose heart bends with reverence over the manger at Bethlehem, where God's Christ is cradled in poverty and lowliness, will despise the day of small things.

These Rochdale weavers had made a discovery in economic principle. They had discovered that if capital, management, and hand-labor are the factors in wealth produced, desire for an object in the mind of a purchaser is an element in such a distribution of wealth, that the distribution makes possible further production. They had discovered that wealth needs purchasers as well as producers in order to make it wealth, and that the customer, as well as the maker and the tradesman, is himself a producer of wealth. And so these Rochdale men said : Our customers, whether shareholders or not, help to make our profits. They shall have a part of the profits. We will sell at market rates. Out of our profits we will give to capital its portion ; we will set aside part for a reserve fund and part for an educational fund ; the remainder we will divide either in stock or in cash among our customers. It was a new thing under the sun. It taught men the value of savings. It made savings possible. It secured savings without the special effort of saving. The ridicule soon ceased. When, after twenty years, a new central store had been erected, with grocery and butcher's and draper's shop and general store, with news-room and library ; when the membership had increased to 4,747 and the capital to £62,105, and the annual sales to £174,937 and the annual profits to £22,717, it was the turn of the co-operators to laugh.*

* Holyoake's "Hist. of Co-op.," vol. ii, pp. 44-66. Thornton on "Labor," pp. 399-401.

The success of the Rochdale experiment speedily produced imitators all over the kingdom; associations were formed, and a wholesale society was organized. In 1883 the whole number of societies in the United Kingdom was 1,304, with a membership of 680,165. From 1862 to 1883 the total sales amounted to £303,326,024. The total net profits, which represented capital saved to the members by this mode of trading, amounted to £24,084,113. In 1883 these societies had over £4,000,000 invested in provident societies and other sources than trade, and in that year devoted over £14,000 of profits to educational purposes.

It will be evident to all who study the history and methods of these associations that they are not industrial societies, and that they are not in the strict sense co-operative. They are distributors, not producers. Their only co-operative feature is that customers share in the profits. The Scottish Wholesale Society, and some local societies, admit employés, not shareholders, to a participation in the profits. This is true co-operation. But the application of this feature is limited in extent. And yet these stores are a natural outgrowth of the co-operative principle. They are the foundation on which co-operative production must build. They furnish the capital and the special training necessary to industrial enterprise. They are the harbingers of a wider and more perfect application of the principle.

Early in the history of the Rochdale Pioneers, various forms of productive industry were found to be needful and practicable as investments for surplus capital and as sources of supply for the store. In 1883 there were thirty-four productive societies, composed of workmen, in England, Scotland, and Wales.

On the Continent, co-operation has also borne fruit. In Germany it has taken chiefly the form of people's banks; though there are numerous agricultural societies, societies for the sale of raw material to workmen, and depots for the sale of the goods produced by the members. In France there are large establishments controlled by workmen, chiefly in Paris, where seventy societies for co-operative industry exist. Similar associations both for distribution and production are found in Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, the Netherlands, and Australia.

Co-operation in the United States has had too brief a history to furnish us with many reliable statistics. Many labor organizations, as the Sovereigns of Industry, the Patrons of Husbandry, and the Knights of Labor, proclaim co-operation as part of their creed, and have made some successful attempts to put the creed into practice. In Texas a wholesale society and about one hundred and fifty retail stores exist in connection with the Patrons of Husbandry. There are various productive enterprises, especially among the printers. In Lawrence, Mass., a distributive association began business September 15, 1884. At the close of its first fiscal year it had used an average capital of \$3,320, had turned over its capital eleven times, made gross sales of over \$38,000, expended nearly \$4,000 in interest, salaries and other necessary expenses, and had earned in net profits over \$2,000, or nearly seventy-four per cent on the capital.*

The success of co-operation, both distributive and productive, has been shown to be possible. There are many workmen who ridicule it. There are many economists who have no faith in it. But Professor Fawcett did not hesitate to write: "Co-operation may be more confidently relied upon than any other economic agency to effect a marked and permanent improvement in the social and industrial condition of the country." And that clear-headed statesman, Earl Derby, said: "I believe it—co-operation—is the best, the surest remedy for the antagonism of labor and capital, for it is not necessary to successful co-operation that the capitalist should be turned out of the concern. I am well aware," he continued, "that such a state of things as I have pointed out can not be brought about in a day. It is quite probable that there are some trades, some kinds of business, where it can not be

* "Mass. Bureau of Statistics of Labor," 1877. "Manual of Distributive Co-operation." Carroll D. Wright. Boston, 1885. "Report of Mass. Bureau Statistics of Labor," 1886. "Report of Senate Com. on Labor," vol. i, pp. 5, 33; vol. ii, p. 541. The most complete treatment yet given to the history of co-operation in America—including profit-sharing—has been given by Prof. R. T. Ely, in five articles in "The Congregationalist," Boston, Mass., from February 11 to March 11, 1886. Prof. Ely, in what he calls "a rash guess," estimates the amount of business annually transacted by distributive co-operators at \$20,000,000.

brought about at all. But it seems to me that it is in this direction that the efforts of the best workers and the ideas of the best thinkers are tending ; and we are not to be disheartened by a few failures, or disappointed because we do not at once hit on the best way of doing what has never been done before."

Co-operation has been beset with difficulties. It has committed grave errors. It has been subjected to many failures. In the sphere of production it has scarcely stirred a ripple on the great tidal waves of industry ; though in its efforts at distribution it has aroused many a wail loud and prolonged, and many an appeal to Parliament from the British shopkeepers, who have feared that their trade might be destroyed. But the principle is sound at the core ; for it is a Christian principle, and is therefore destined to live and flourish. Already in its history it has accomplished much for its promoters. It has inculcated honesty ; for it has married interest and duty. Mr. Holyoake's enthusiasm is warranted when he affirms : "The whole atmosphere of a co-operative store is honest. In that market there is no distrust and no deception, no adulteration and no second prices. Buyer and seller meet as friends. There is no overreaching on one side, and no suspicion on the other. Those who serve neither hurry, finesse, nor flatter. They have no interest in chicanery. Their sole duty is to give fair measure, full weight, and pure quality to men who never knew before what it was to have a wholesome meal, whose shoes let in water a month too soon, whose waistcoats shone with devil's dust and whose wives wore calico that would not wash. When a child," adds Mr. Holyoake, "is sent to a shop, it is usual, as children can be put off with anything, to caution him to go to some particular man—the one with gray whiskers and black hair, for instance—and to be sure and ask him for the best butter. But in a store that is co-operative, all the men have gray whiskers and black hair ; the child can not go to the wrong man, and the best butter is sure to be given without being asked for, because no bad is kept." *

Co-operation has incited to prudence, and rewarded the

* Holyoake's "Self-Help." Quoted from Thornton on "Labor," pp. 407, 408.

prudence to which it incites. It has cured poverty of its recklessness. It has furnished motives for saving—afforded the opportunity and formed and cherished the habit. By returning to the purchaser, in dividends, what other traders would have retained in profits, it has made true the quaint Lancashire paradox, "The more they eaten, the more they geten."

Co-operation has given to a just pride and a generous aspiration the places once held by dullness and despair. It has fostered cleanliness, sobriety, and self-respect. It has promoted the Christian sentiment of peace and good-will. The arbitrators appointed to settle internal difficulties have never had a case brought before them, and are said to be somewhat discontented because nobody has quarreled.

Co-operation has taught other than these strictly moral lessons. From the very difficulties which have surrounded it, from the mistakes it has made, and from the failures which have often accompanied its experiments, its advocates have learned valuable truths of economic principle. The whole history of co-operation has been an economic education to the workingmen, who have been the actors in its modest but stirring scenes. They have learned the necessity of the existence of capital, as a force distinct from the labor that originally produced it, and that whatever may be said against capital when it o'erleaps its true functions and becomes a tyrant, nothing is to be said against it, but all things in its favor, so long as it is a useful servant. They have learned that capital, as a distinct force, is like other servants—worthy of its hire, even though that hire be called interest.

Co-operators have learned, or many of them are learning, that even when co-operative enterprises shall become general they can not wholly abolish, though they may transform, the principle of competition. For, in spite of the numberless and shameful ways by which it has been abused, in spite of the savage crush and the heartless grind by which it has been often applied, competition is, so far as we know, a necessary factor in social and industrial order. Most of the complaints that have been made against competition have been due not to competition, but to interference with its freedom.* Co-opera-

* "The masters tried to forbid the journeyman the freedom of his craft.

tion and competition are the forces of true socialism, and true individualism, not forces mutually destructive, but doing each their best work when they work not apart, but together. No divine wisdom has yet revealed, no human genius has yet discovered a principle, other than competition, that will regulate and organize and control the numberless elements of the economic world, fixing just price for every product of brain and hand.

Co-operators are learning, from their history, the necessary uses and the commercial value of the organizing, managing, employing talent. Co-operation is democracy applied to labor. But like all democracy, its successful application depends upon the moral habits and intelligence of the citizen, and upon the joint wisdom displayed in the choice of administrators. Many co-operative schemes have failed for want of management. You can no more carry on a business, than you can carry on the State, by simply counting heads. Many voices may determine what shall be done, and what man shall be chosen to do it. But the man chosen to do the determined thing, must be left unhindered by democratic dictation in his methods of administration. This is a hard lesson for workingmen to learn—but some of them are learning it. They are learning, too, that the talent of successful management is one of the rarest of all talents ; that it is a talent which involves natural endowment and the prolonged discipline of experience. Mastership of endless details, capacity for small economies, prudence, firmness, quickness in emergency, courtesy, consummate tact—these qualities must all combine in the successful manager. Many a workman, who angrily begrudged, as a robbery of his own wages, the payment of \$20,000 or \$50,000 as profits or salary to the competent manager or employer, on whose competency his own wages were dependent, when he saw his shares in a co-operative society taking to themselves wings because of a failure to secure competent management, has learned, as he could not otherwise have learned, to

Existing companies try to prevent the consumer from buying cheap the articles they sell dear. There never was a monopoly which was not to the advantage of the strong and the detriment of the weak.”—Guyot’s “Principles of Social Economy,” p. 232.

appreciate and respect, and rightly measure the pecuniary value of large administrative ability.* The future progress of co-operative production will depend, in great part, on the ability of co-operators to apply this lesson, and either to find such talent in their own ranks, and to compensate it adequately when found, or to follow the example of capital and hire such talent wherever they can find it.

The history of co-operation has given to those engaged in it an increasing perception of the practical difficulties of all business enterprise, and hence a sympathy for those who are exclusively business men. Co-operators are learning that amid the varied forces of the industrial world, the men who seek to supply human need, and who must know the state of markets, the varying cost of materials, the shifting currents of trade, the influences of good or bad harvests, of changing fashions, of new inventions, of increased or diminished taxation, of the counsels of cabinets, of the robberies inflicted upon legitimate trade by the plottings of gambling speculators—co-operators know that such business men lie upon no beds of roses and sleep no painless sleep of luxurious idleness. They know that successful business activity, even in a modest way, demands days full of busy work and nights made wakeful by anxious care.

The history of co-operation has taught co-operators the need of a more thorough education for workingmen, education of the hand, the head, the conscience, the heart ; education that shall begin in earliest childhood, and not cease on earth until the pulses have ceased their throbbings. None among workingmen are better informed than co-operators of the fact that a part of the responsibility for any bad conditions of labor rests upon labor's own shoulders. I say, a part of the responsibility. For the whole of the responsibility does not rest there. We are insane if we try to rest it all there. Part of it is there. And co-operators, who have tried to unite workingmen in some common endeavor looking to bettered conditions, know full well that many co-operative failures have been due, not alone to the lack of competent general-

* One of the English wholesale companies now pays a salary of £5,000 to its chief buyer.

ship, but to the ignorance, the incompetence, the shiftlessness, the vices, the jealousies and suspicions and distrusting, the unwillingness to submit to discipline, on the part of workingmen themselves. Co-operators know that any reconstruction of society, imposed from without, would end in hopeless collapse, so long as the intellectual and moral character of masses of workingmen remained unimproved by change and uplift from within. And these co-operative societies have done much to foster such education. The very self-surrender which they involve is itself moral training. Their demand for honest work ; their libraries, reading-rooms, debates, lectures, have broadened their intellectual outlook and toughened their moral fiber in right tendencies. Great and enlarging opportunities are in their hands, even as great demands are laid upon them for yet further educating their fellows in all the qualities of capable workmanship and in all the elements of good citizenship.

Has the principle of co-operation, in the narrow sense in which we have considered it, a future? I believe it has a future. It is a divine principle. The drift of events, the currents of enterprise, are pushing to the front many forms of this principle. The tendency to unity is the characteristic of the century ; unity in science, philosophy, industry, religious feeling and endeavor. The co-operation of workingmen, to become themselves capitalists, in however small a way, is not indeed a panacea for the ills of labor. It is not likely to supersede private enterprise. Yet in spite of its many past failures, and its comparative present weakness, may we not say with the Rev. R. Heber Newton, "No one can study the history of the movement without becoming persuaded that there is a moral development carried on, which will in some way, as not yet seen to us, lead up the organization of these societies into some higher generalization securing harmony"?* No Christian, no philanthropist, can afford, or will be disposed to withhold from these societies his warmest sympathies, and his words and deeds of good cheer. They are growing barriers against the threatening, thundering wave-crests of violent revolution. Holding yet the moral aim of

* "Report of Senate Committee on Labor," vol. ii, p. 542.

Owen, their founder, these societies have abandoned their founder's method. He would have taught men brotherhood by gathering them into small isolated groups. These teach men brotherhood, while allowing them to remain in society, by training them to perform all social duty. Co-operators know that self-help is best help. They look for no Hercules to undertake the cleansing of society's Augean stables. They make no violent appeals to legislation in their solitary interest. They are not beggars at the public crib. They respect themselves. They know that the social regeneration of labor must come largely from labor. They know that the divine law, "Work out your own salvation," is a law, not for the spiritual life alone, but for the whole of life, and that they can work successfully, even amid frequent failure, because the spirit and providence of God are working in them and with them. There is a future for workingmen's co-operation. The treasuries of trades-unions expending many thousands on strikes ; the more than \$800,000,000 in the United States, deposited in savings-banks, mainly the savings of workingmen ; the millions that may be snatched from the demon tyrant of strong drink, as temperance reform, so grandly fostered by trades-unions and co-operative societies, shall gather workingmen within its clean-lipped, clear-eyed ranks—are facts which show the workingman's capacity for supplying his own capital and turning it, if he will, into productive and profitably distributive channels. The organizing talent, exhibited so surprisingly by the existence of organized labor, as a militant factor in our social order, indicates the workingman's power to furnish his own leaders and managers for the beneficent strife of peaceful industry.

There is a future for co-operation. We bid it God-speed. We hear in it, feeble as may now be its voice, a re-echo of the angels' carol, "On earth peace, good-will to men." We hail it as a harbinger of social progress and individual weal. Do we dream when we foresee a day when this gospel, which co-operation is preaching in the workshop and the market, shall join with the same gospel of human brotherhood preached in the sanctuary, and shall be hearkened to and believed in, and practiced ; and when this schism in the social body shall cease ; when the members shall have the same care one for

another ; and when workmen shall be capitalists and capitalists workmen, and all men brothers, striving together for the noblest end ? If this be dreaming let us be dreamers. For we dream with Christ. We dream with Paul. We dream with the saintliest souls of all ages.*

Good-will to men ! The angels sang it. The manger proclaimed it. The cross on Calvary re-emphasized and made it the central power of history. Good-will to men, from the glory of God in the highest ! These divine facts, which have already wrought for humanity so many unselfish lives and so much co-operant helpfulness, are not "such stuff as dreams are made of." These are realities that have shaped history, and that shall yet govern the world.

* "Lectures on Social Questions." By J. H. Rylance, D. D. New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1880, p. 103.

CHAPTER X.

CAPTAINS OF INDUSTRY.

“The Leaders of Industry, if Industry is ever to be led, are virtually the Captains of the world; if there is no nobleness in them, there will never be an aristocracy more.”—*Carlyle*.

“The rule now commonly acted on is that business must be cared for and men must care for themselves. The principle of action in the end must be that men must be cared for, and business must be subservient to this great work.”—*President Chadbourne*.

THE idea of order, or organization, or co-operation, involves variety, diversity—not sameness of endowments, but distinction of endowments. The famous phrase of Louis Blanc, “The organization of labor,” would be a meaningless phrase if all were heads or all were hands, and if the heads were not allowed to direct, and the hands were not gladly willing to be directed. Even democracy can not get along without rulership. Government by the people, for the people, is yet government. Government demands executive functions. Executive functions demand men who exercise these functions. The exercise of function by one part of a body demands submission to such exercise of function by other parts of the body.

What executive officers are in the State, what pastors, deacons, teachers, superintendents are in the Church, what generals, colonels, captains are in the army—servants, indeed, who shall sway no tyrannous scepter over their brothers, but true rulers, leaders, directors also, if any good service is faithfully rendered, any good work to be worthily done—such are the organizers, the leaders of our industrial forces. Whether we use the French word to describe these men and call them *entrepreneurs*, or, in Carlyle’s phrase, entitle them “Captains

of Industry," they are certainly to be regarded as men of special rank, apportioned to a special function in the industrial body. They are men who for the performance of their special function have been endowed with special and significant gifts, and who by reason of the special gifts are called to the diligent exercise of the special function.

"Captains of Industry"—what is their place? What are their duties, their responsibilities, their opportunities?

This industrial captain, though he uses capital, his own or that of other men, is not technically a capitalist. Though he be a worker—engaged during more hours and consuming more nerve force than any one of all the army that he leads—he is not technically a workman. Neither capitalist, though using capital, nor workman, though himself a worker, he stands between capital and labor, brings them together, organizes both. If he be a true and faithful Captain, he organizes both, not only to his own advantage, but to the advantage of both.

In an early and crude stage of industry, this man could not have been. There was no need of him. But when industry has become complex, when no longer one man or a few men but a thousand men are at work for the completion of a single product, then there is demand for this Captain, and he appears. Only within a few years have economic writers begun to regard him as having any separate function, and as entitled to distinct economic treatment.

Clear ideas as to the nature of any force are essential to a clear conception of what that force can do in itself, and what it can accomplish when combined with other forces. You will not make much headway in the solution of economic problems if you confuse this Captain of Industry either with the capital which he uses, or with the labor which he directs. You will make as little headway thus as you will by confusing capital and labor. Now, the original fact and factor in all industry is undoubtedly labor. Without it coal and gold would be unmined and fields untilled, the earth a waste, and all men, if there were any men, barbarians. It is true that labor is the mother of capital. But it is not true that the son once born and grown to manhood, is, while he lives and acts, identical with his mother. And it is not true that any just

reward rendered for the separate social service of the product force, is a robbery of the just reward that may be rendered for the continued social service of the originally producing force.

The Captain of Industry is indeed the product of the combined forces of capital and labor. It is the demand furnished by the needs of these, and the opportunities furnished by the complex modern conditions under which these exist and act, that make him both possible and necessary. But when once he comes into being, he has a place and a function quite distinct from the forces that produced him, and a sphere of enterprise that is peculiarly his own.

Here on the one side is capital. It is in various hands. Wards in chancery, widows, clerks, teachers, editors, working people, own it. Whether these owners possess large or small sums, estates inherited or savings-bank deposits, the most of those who possess capital would not care to risk its loss on the possible results of their own endeavor. Capital unused rots; and those owners of capital are in the main without the necessary qualities to make their own use successful in reproduction. Here on the other hand is labor—the very labor that capital needs, the very labor that needs this capital. But this labor needs more than capital, in food, shelter, materials, tools. It needs directive skill, administrative headship. It is well enough to say that if all existing capital were destroyed, labor could reproduce it. Possibly: but only after centuries of difficult endeavor, and then only as labor of administration became an integrant part of the labor force. The brawny arms and skilled fingers of a thousand men, each doing his special part in a common industry, whose final result no one among them all could fully foresee or clearly comprehend, would not quickly reproduce destroyed capital nor wisely use existing capital. Here they are, the capital and the labor, each calling for the other's help, yet each largely incompetent to move toward the other without some directing force, which neither, in and of itself, possesses. And they both call loudly for the director, the organizer, the *entrepreneur*, the industrial captain. He comes at their call. With one hand he touches the well-laden treasury-chest, and barracks, camp equipage, arms, ammunition,

commissary stores exist. With the other hand he touches a mob of men, and squads, companies, battalions, regiments, are formed and drilled. Each man knows his own place. Each does his own work. The fruits of past labor become the food of the present, and the seed of the future, and an army is organized and led in the peaceful conquests of industry.

Who is this man? What is the quality of his endowments? He has business talent and practical skill. He can detect what the community needs, and how to satisfy the need. He can even awaken desires where these do not exist. He has, to quote a French writer, "judgment, good sense, boldness, decision, a measuring power cool and calm, an intelligence frank and vigilant, little imagination, great memory and great application."* This man has a sort of subtle instinct that often directs his movements. He can not always tell you why he does this or does not do that. Perhaps he does not always himself know why. But he acts, and succeeds. Capital trusts this man. Credit comes to him. Labor yields to his control. Social loads are laid upon him. If he fails, capital wastes and labor suffers. He may be manufacturer, banker, merchant, steamship or railroad manager. But whatever his special sphere, his rank is captain and his function organization and industrial leadership.

This man is a modern product. He belongs to a time—he can only be possible in a time—of mills, factories, railroads;—an age whose chief industrial characteristics are the division of labor and the constant tendency to enterprises on an enlarging scale. But such an age makes this man a social necessity, and, if he exercises well his powers of command, a social blessing.

No greater blunder can be made by the workers whom this Captain organizes and leads than that they should regard him with suspicion and envy and hate, as if his successes and rewards were somehow acquired at the expense of their wages, and by wanton robbery of their rights. Some Captains may

* M. Courcelle-Seneuil, "Opérations de Banque," quoted from Walker on "Wages," p. 252. Mr. Walker has done more than any other American economist to put the *entrepreneur* function in its true place. Consult also Joseph Garnier's art., "Entrepreneur," Lalor's "Cycl.," vol. ii, p. 104.

so acquire their rewards, but they do it, not in virtue of their functions as Captains, but because they are thieves. For if all that contributes to the production of value is entitled to a share in the final product, surely this Captain is entitled to a share. He has contributed to the production a determinable element, an element that has created a value, without which the value as it now exists never would have been. He could have done little without capital and less without labor. But without him and his work capital would not have secured so good, if any, interest, nor labor earned so good, if any, wages. And when capital has received its share of the product in interest, and labor its share in wages, the rates both of interest and wages determined by forces over which neither treasure-chest, nor captain nor soldiers have any direct control—is it unfair that the captain should receive in profits a due reward for that element, contributed to the creation of value, which is peculiarly his own?

These captains of industry are not a numerous class.* Men with the needful endowments are rare. They often spring from the industrial ranks. They force their way up by the native powers within them. They are forced up by the need which society has for them. The numerous difficulties that environ business life test the qualities of those who would enter the arena. If the aspirants can not endure the test, the environment of difficulty thrusts them aside and puts them where they belong. These experiments are costly ones. They are like the experiments tried by our nation before Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas were found and set to the task of leading our armies. The incompetent employer, manager, captain, is, in industry, what the incompetent general is in war—a source of incalculable wastes and mischiefs. Such men continue a business career at great damage to society, and at special damage to the workmen. And there are workmen who recognize this fact. They know the truth of Prof. Walker's statement, that "bad business management is the heaviest possible tax on production, and, while the incapable employer gets little for himself, the laborer loses heavily in the rate or the regularity of his wages."† "Arbitration,"

* Walker on "Wages," p. 252.

† Ibid., p. 255.

said a workman, "should require that this (incompetent) manufacturer, if he is desirous of procuring contracts or the production of goods at lower rates than other manufacturers would produce them for, and desires to draw his profits out of the laborer, that such a man, out of regard to both the honest manufacturer and to the laborer, ought to be crushed out of the business."* This seems a hard rule. It seems hard when those who have worn stars or bars upon their shoulders fall back into the ranks. There is individual hardship, indeed. But it is for the best welfare of society that her industrial forces should have the leadership of the most competent men. And when such men are found, no fair profits are too large a payment for the rarity of the talents exhibited or for the high social service of which these profits are at once both a token and a recompense. Says Guyot: "Objectors would deny to administrative ability any claim to remuneration, and yet there is no other element of production of equal value with this, inventive ability excepted. . . . An invention is completed so far, so good; but it has to be set working. Here comes in the need of administrative ability. How many inventions have been long held back for want of the men fitted to put them into operation; what millions of money wasted for want of intelligence in employing them! At this moment there is available capital in England, in France, in Belgium, in Holland, in the United States—the whole world is there to fertilize—and yet to what miserable uses the money is often applied for want of administrative capacity in its possessors! And this incapacity is nowhere more marked than in the administration of national affairs. Look at the statesmen who have succeeded each other at the head of the nations for centuries past! By the harm they have done, and the good they have not done, we may estimate the value of administrative capacity. Administrative capacity must, then, receive remuneration, and large remuneration, in virtue of its rareness and of its production of utilities."†

* "Rep. of Senate Com. on Labor," vol. ii, p. 378.

† "Prin. of Soc. Econ.," pp. 175, 176. "I think every man, who is conversant with affairs, will admit that in every field of activity, in all branches of trade and commerce, in manufactures, in transportation by sea and land,

What relation does this industrial captain sustain, or, rather, what relation ought he to sustain toward the company, or regiment, or army of workers whom he organizes and directs? The time was when the workman was property. He was a slave. He owed his master obedience and service. His master owed him guidance, control, maintenance. Then came feudalism, a system of modified slavery. These systems, that had in them many beauties and suitabilities, as well as many brutalities, have gone forever. The age of Democracy has come. There are many who resent its coming. There are many who do not realize that it has come. But let who will, resent; or let who will, be ignorant; the age of Democracy is here. The total revolution in industrial methods within the century is no more certain than is the total revolution in social conditions. We have not yet seen the end of either revolution. But we know, or we ought to know, that not more necessary is the existence and service of the captain of industry, in the present stage of industrial progress, than it is a necessity that this captain should stand to his workers in a relation whose basis is democracy. Carlyle, pleading on behalf of workingmen, would have the old feudal relation restored, and the rich govern and protect and provide for the workingmen, as they did in the past. But this can not be. The employing classes will not grant this protection. The employed classes will not consent to receive it. All industrial conditions, the division of labor, the mobility of labor, the freedom of labor, are against the restoration of such a relation. All modern social conditions are against it. A man is now a man, not any more a master or a slave, not any longer a lord or a churl.

There is surely a significance in the historic providence that has speeded a dual revolution, industrial and social, which, while transforming the domestic system of labor into the factory system of labor, was also transforming the serf into a free citizen. We can not go back to the middle ages.

in the army, in the navy, and in everything in which direction or superintendence is needed, the demand for presidents, managers, generals, and captains, for high executive officers of all kinds, is deplorably greater than the supply."—E. L. Godkin, "Internat. Review," June, 1879, p. 688.

We can no more replace the method of feudalism in industry, than we can re-enthroned the method of absolutism in government. The drift of events—and you can no more hinder it than you can hinder the stars in their courses—is toward equality, equality conditioned by justice and liberty, but equality—not an equality of wealth or intellect or inherent powers, but an equality of individual rights and freedom. No sane man will wish to hinder these drifts. He will seek to adjust himself to them, and to direct them for best, safest, and surest social progress.

First and foremost, then, in this democratic era, the captain of industry must recognize the true democracy of all labor, his own and other men's. He can not compel men to labor for him, since he does not own men. His relation to the workers who submit to his direction is a relation of free contract, based upon equal rights of manhood. This does not imply that there are no distinctions of rank in industry. Division of labor, skilled and unskilled labor, foremanships, superintendencies, captaincies—all necessary to any wise labor—imply distinctions of rank. A citizen soldiery is not a mob, but an officered army, if any real soldiering is to be done. Yet free contract between equals in essential manhood and before the law, is the only condition on which employment can now be offered and received. The captain may enlist his men singly or in squads. He may deal with them as to matters of wages and hours and conditions of work, as individuals, or as represented by trades-union committees. If he refuses to any man the right of dealing through an attorney, or a committee, or a broker, and declares, "I will deal only with men singly," he is talking like a feudal lord, not like a modern captain. You can not afford to be feudalists in the nineteenth century. If you do not decline to deal with representatives of a cotton, or coal, or railroad corporation, how, on any basis of democracy, can you refuse to deal with the representatives of those corporations of labor, which labor has a right to form, believing that these give to the laborer a better opportunity for that equality which it is his right to assert in dealing with you?

The old union between leader and men, a union based on the workingman's dependence, has gone. The opportunity for

new union, based on the workingman's independence, has come. The possibilities of the new union are deeper, broader, every way nobler than those of the old one. For as Arnold Toynbee said, "Democracy, to be praised for many things, is most to be praised for this—that it has made it possible, without shame and without reluctance, to preach the gospel of duty to the whole people." *

Here, then, you are, you captains confronting your soldiers, or rather standing in line with them ; they with their plain blue blouses, you with your insignia of industrial rank ; yet both you and they, equal citizens of a free State. You have entered into contract. They agree to furnish work. You promise to pay wages. You provide tools and materials. They agree to use tools skillfully, and materials prudently, and time industriously, for the transformation of material into product. They agree to be directed ; you to direct. When you have paid fair market wages, when you have furnished material, tools, direction, is your duty done ? On the surface, yes ; by the letter of the contract, yes ; by the mere nomination of the bond, yes ; otherwise, no. Democracy is equality, free contract. But Democracy is not *laissez-faire*, let alone, every man for himself. Satanic democracy, the democracy of the sons of Cain, may be that ; but Christian democracy is not that. Christian democracy involves the gospel of duty to be believed gladly, and willingly obeyed.

But, it will be said : "The gospel of duty is one thing, economic law is quite another thing." Not another thing in any world which a righteous God governs ! The democratic principle of free contract is no more carried out in its spirit by the payment of wages, than the law of citizenship is fulfilled by the payment of taxes. No man in his economic relations can violate moral obligations without doing economic damage. Morality in both you and your workman is, as we shall see hereafter, a very actual, industrial force. Your contract to give so much wages for so much work does not, when you have kept that contract, release you from your obligation as men. Rather, the very existence of such a relation as that of wage-payer to wage-earner, the director to the directed, im-

* "Industrial Revolution," etc., p. 200.

poses upon you special and weighty obligations toward those whom you pay and direct. For the sake of the economic ends you are associated to promote, these special and weighty obligations are due from you to them. And whatever be the special obligations due from them to you, beyond the diligent performance of their appointed tasks, yours are the higher obligations, by as much as your power is greater and your opportunities larger than theirs.

What, then, are some of your duties under the new democratic conditions of labor, and in your relation as captain to your soldiers of industry? Of course, you are to be a wise, diligent, alert leader. You are to make your business successful. This must be done, not for your own sake alone, not, least of all things, for the sake of so much money, but for the sake of your soldiers, and for the sake of society. Your workmen have committed their fortunes to the sagacity of your leadership, as well as to the strength of their arms, and the skill of their toil. In all honest ways you must strive to succeed. In dishonest ways you will not long succeed. If you must be dishonest, or think you must be, you are incompetent and weak, and some industrial mutiny or some fierce commercial battle will depose you from command.

The proper influence of your duty to succeed, will lead to the recognition of some other duties, as essential to success. You will pay good wages, the best the conditions of trade will allow, and you will pay them in such manner as will enable the workman to make the best outlay of his wages. You are not hampered by any fallacy of a wages-fund. You know that though capital may make advance for wages, the final payment of wages is made out of the total results of the joint production. You know that low wages are not identical with low cost of production, nor high wages with high cost, but often the reverse. You know that labor underfed, half clad, badly housed, is labor inefficient, uneconomical. You know that ignorance, discontent, sullenness, shiftlessness are fatal to best production. For the sake of business success, to say nothing now of humanity and Christianity, you will do what you can to reduce these evils to the lowest level. To this end you will not only pay good wages, the best you can afford, while guaranteeing the success and permanence of your enterprise, but

you will make all the conditions of your work the best possible conditions. Good light, wholesome air, every safeguard against dangerous machinery, cleanliness, neatness, attractiveness, will characterize your workshops. If your industrial camp is in a village over which you have a large control, you will take care that the homes of your workers be healthy, convenient, pleasant, furnishing all the needful conditions of wholesome and moral domestic life. Knowing that ignorance is the twin sister, if not the mother, of vice, you will at least try to banish ignorance by technical training in the shop, and outside of the shop, by means of the lecture, the library, the school, the church.

You will do these things, not only as philanthropists, but as Captains of Industry, as men of business, who in these ways, by uplifting the *morale* and the industrial spirit and capacity of your forces, will best insure the success of your enterprise. Ay, more, you will do these things in strict justice to your workers. You know that the rate of wages, determined by supply and demand, by public opinion, by the interacting pressure of trades-unions and manufacturers' associations, is not always a just equivalent for service rendered, nor a fair division of the final product. Supply and demand is the only known method of fixing the rate of wages. But it is an imperfect method at best, and ought, in strict justice, as well as for the sake of best conditions of production, to be supplemented by some other forms of distribution.

There have been Captains of Industry who have recognized these obligations. There are yet many such men. There are those who know that wages alone will not secure the best work, and that other motives must make appeal to the workers if they are to be led as marshaled and enthusiastic hosts in the most triumphant campaigns of industry. Robert Owen was such a captain. Going, in 1800, from the management of the Chorlton Twist Company, of Manchester, to the management and part ownership of the New Lanark mills, in Scotland, he found a working force of two thousand people, including five hundred children, most of the latter brought, at the age of five or six years, from the poorhouses of Glasgow and Edinburgh. He found the very lowest of the population; long hours and demoralizing drudgery; theft, drunkenness,

and other vices prevalent; education and sanitation entirely neglected; most families living in one room. Owen improved the houses; trained the people to cleanliness, order, thrift; established schools; brought beauty and discipline out of chaos and industrial mutiny; diffused happiness; paid large dividends; and became the leading and most prosperous cotton manufacturer in the kingdom. Sir Thomas Brassey was such a man. Dealing through a long and laborious life with hundreds of thousands of workmen in Great Britain, Italy, Canada, Australia, the Argentine Republic, Moldavia, India—he won their hearts, commanded their confidence, secured their obedient work. Sir Joseph Whitworth was such a man. It was to him that Carlyle wrote, concerning his schemes for the benefit of his workmen, “Would to Heaven that all or many of the Captains of Industry in England had such a soul in them as yours, and could do as you have done, or could still further co-operate with you in works and plans to the like effect! . . . Two things are pretty sure to me: The first is that capital and labor never can or will agree together, till they both, first of all, decide on doing their work faithfully throughout, and like men of conscience and honor, whose highest aim is to behave like faithful citizens of the universe, and obey the eternal commandment of Almighty God who made them.”* Sir Titus Salt, of England, the Krupps of Essen, in Prussia, the MM. Godin of Guise, in France, were such men.† America has such men, who, in the spirit of economic wisdom, as well as of philanthropy, have promoted morality, intelligence, comfort, convenience, health, cheerfulness, hope among their workers, as essential conditions of best work. The Willimantic Thread Company, the Cheney Brothers, the Cranes of Dalton, the Waterbury Watch and Clock Companies, the Lonsdale Company, and the Richmond Manufacturing Company, of Rhode Island, G. W. Childs, of Philadelphia, R. H. White & Co., Macullar, Parker & Co., of Boston

* “The Creators of the Age of Steel.” By W. T. Jeans. London: Chapman & Hall, 1884, p. 267.

† “Social Studies in England.” Sarah K. Bolton. Pp. 155-174. Article, “The Familistère at Guise, France.” Edward Howland. “Harper’s Magazine,” November, 1885.

—these are but representatives of a large class of industrial leaders who, as individuals or as corporations, are convincing their employés that they are part of the establishment, and are getting a fair share of the prosperity they help to promote. "Statistics will prove," said Colonel Wright, "that wherever the best intelligence and the best morality prevail there will be found the best material prosperity. Right doing is only another name for—in fact, the best definition of—righteousness. And the endeavors of some of the large-hearted manufacturers, we know, to build up righteousness are really converting their counting-rooms into pulpits."

I, for one, believe that, unnamed by the public press, there are hosts of such leaders. I believe that the average employer is honestly desirous of promoting the best weal of his workers. Would that all were such ! Would that there were no men who were tyrants in the workshop and misers out of it ! Would that there were no leaders whose camps of industry had an uninviting, cheerless air—as if the prevailing policy were the penny wise and pound foolish one of getting the most work for the lowest returns ! Would that there were no centers of contagion whence, by contact of ill-used with well-used workmen, have spread into otherwise healthful atmospheres the spirit of discontent and unjust suspicion toward the entire class of employers ! Would that the innocent, the noble-minded did not so often have to suffer for the sins of their guilty and petty-minded compeers !

Among the many methods that, within our century, have been proposed for ameliorating the acknowledged evils under which many among the working classes suffer ; for removing legitimate or groundless discontent ; for securing a wider distribution of products ; and so for promoting larger and better industrial results—few methods are more worthy the intelligent study of our American Captains of Industry than the form of co-operation known as profit-sharing. In 1834 Charles Babbage had remarked of what importance it would be "if in every large establishment the mode of paying the different persons employed could be so arranged that each could derive advantage from the success of the whole, and the profits of individuals should advance as the factory itself produced profits, without the necessity of making any change in the

wages agreed upon.”* In 1843 Carlyle wrote: “A question arises here: Whether in some ulterior, perhaps some not far distant stage of this ‘Chivalry of Labor,’ your master-worker may not find it possible and needful to grant to his workers permanent interest in his enterprise and theirs, so that it become, in practical result, what in essential fact and justice it ever is, a joint enterprise; all men, from the chief master down to the lowest overseer and operative, economically as well as loyally, concerned for it.”† In 1842 the Parisian house decorator, Leclaire, attempted Babbage’s suggestion, and began to answer Carlyle’s question.

The inspiration of the French experiment came from a M. Fregier, who, in 1835, told Leclaire, that he saw no way of getting rid of the antagonism between master and workman except the participation of the workman in the profits of the master. On February 15, 1842, Leclaire announced his intention of dividing among a certain number of his workmen and employés a part of his profits. The police, the press, a portion of the workmen opposed the scheme and suspected the motive. But when Leclaire collected forty-four participants, and throwing on the table a bag of gold, distributed over \$50 to each man as his share, hesitation gave way to unbounded confidence. In 1848 a mutual-aid society was established, into whose treasury a portion of the profits is turned. In 1871 all the employés, even those who had worked but a few days, were admitted to participation. The mutual-aid society, independent in management, has become a silent partner or capital owner in the business house. The house has survived the death of its founder. The annual profits are distributed as follows: “The two managing partners receive £240 each as salaries for superintendence. Interest at five per cent is paid to them and to the aid society on their respective capitals. Of the remaining net profit, one quarter goes to the managing partners jointly, and another quarter to the funds of the society; the remaining half is divided among all the workmen and others, in sums proportionate to the amounts which they have respectively earned in wages, paid at the ordinary mar-

* Quoted from Thornton on “Labor,” p. 367.

† “Past and Present.” London: Chapman & Hall, p. 289.

ket rate, during the year for which the division is being made." In 1882, nine hundred and ninety-eight participants received an advance in bonuses of twenty-two per cent over their actual wages.* Leclair's example has been followed in France, England, and Germany, and in some instances in America. At Peace Dale, Rhode Island, since January, 1880, over \$19,000 have been distributed to the workers. And though for two years there have been no profits to divide, and though the method of division is not as thorough as it may be made, the company are satisfied with the results of their experiment, and few better industrial communities can be found to-day than is found at Peace Dale.†

What are the advantages of such a system to both employers and workmen? According to the testimony of both masters and men, it induces thrift, industry, lessened waste of material and of time, lessened friction in the spirit of work, lessened cost of supervision, for each man supervises himself and his fellows. It promotes larger production, with the same expenditure of forces. As to actual income, the masters are as well off and the workmen better off. In a lithographic house in Paris, one workman said to another, who had carelessly broken a stone: "Don't do that again; that costs us 6 francs." On the Paris and Orleans Railway, a profit-sharing company, one employ  rebuked another for the careless handling of a passenger's luggage, saying: "What are you about? You will shorten our dividend." M. Chaix, of the profit-sharing *Maison Chaix*, of Paris, writes: "Among all the systems which have been devised in order to restore the old union of interests without impairing the liberties newly conquered, participation is assuredly one of the best."

* "Profit-sharing." By Sedley Taylor. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1884.

† "Inaugural Address at Sixteenth Annual Co-operative Congress." By Sedley Taylor. Manchester, 1884.

Thornton on "Labor," p. 364, etc.

† Among other establishments in which some form of profit-sharing is practiced, may be mentioned, the Philadelphia "Ledger," G. W. Childs, proprietor; the "National Baptist," H. L. Wayland, proprietor; the Walter A. Wood Mowing and Reaping Machine Co., Hoosac Falls, N. Y.; the Waltham Watch Co.; the Pillsbury Mills, Minneapolis, Minn.

Profit-sharing teaches men economy, makes them thrifty, inspires them with hope, joins self-interest with common interest, lifts them to higher planes of intelligence and morality. M. Victor Böhmert, head of the Statistical Department in Saxony, after a careful inquiry into one hundred and twenty establishments in different countries, under different conditions and representing different industries, concludes that "the participation in profits works well in almost all cases, and raises both the material and moral condition of the men. The system," he continues, "can not be preached as a panacea for social maladies, or as a concession to absolute justice ; it is simply a thoroughly understood system of wages, the adoption of which, in the majority of cases, and according to the nature of the employment, may become as profitable to those who find the direction as to those who find the labor." *

Captains of Industry, here is a field for great exploits ! Study carefully Sedley Taylor's book, and, in the face of gravest issues, ask Almighty God to give you the wisdom to know and the grace to do your duty. Your duty ? Nay, rather seek grace to rise to the height of a magnificent opportunity. For, if the workingman's future is largely in his own hands, it is largely, also, in your hands. And you can not separate his future from your own. No easy task, but a hard one, this task of evolving industrial order out of chaos, and out of strife bringing peace. But all noblest work is hardest work ; all worthiest work the most difficult. You are bearing heavy burdens. Many of you are perplexed in your conscience, and sick at heart. Much business has been done by you during these years of depression at absolute loss, because you were unwilling to see your armies suffer from hunger.†

* Quoted from Guyot's "Principles of Social Economy," p. 209.

"Stock-owning by workmen with a participation in management—one form of profit-sharing—gives a training in prudence, economy and business affairs. It changes the whole current of the worker's thought and feeling, and economic conduct. He ceases to think of himself as a worker standing over against the capitalist employer in an antagonistic relation. He thinks of himself always as a proprietor, and dignifies himself as such, and as such puts new zest into his work."—"Massachusetts Bureau of Labor." Report, 1886, p. 234.

† Mills are, indeed, often run when no profits are made, as a matter of

God forbid that any word of mine should increase your burdens or add to your perplexity! But there are new tasks to be assumed, and new questions to be faced and solved as to the methods of old tasks. Because you are called to be captains you are called to be burden-bearers. May I quote to you Guyot's true and weighty words: "Employers have too long regarded the workmen as their debtors. Already the reduction of the rate of interest, the difficulty of finding profitable investments, and the losses to which their ventures have exposed them, have shown them that if they mean to go on producing they must allow a larger share to the other contracting party. Their own interest compels them to see that solidarity is no empty word."* Of course those Captains of Industry whose only aim is to become as rich as possible, whose only measure of business success is the amount of money stored in their own coffers, such will "devote their lives to the getting and keeping of other men's earnings," they will care little about "other men's wants, or sufferings, or disappointments," they will never mind it "if their great wealth involves many others' poverty."† If there are those who still believe in industrial aristocracy, who would play the part of feudal lords and kings, forgetting the return service that lordships and kingships imply, such will shut their eyes to all existing facts, and to all emergent duty. But I do not believe the majority of captains are such men.

It is often discouraging work you are called to do. There will be dark moments when you will bitterly complain of your workers. You will say, "We do everything we can for them, and they give us no credit for it. They are an ungrateful lot." Ah! But have you never read of Him who came to do noblest service to men, yet who was murdered for the sake of the very service He rendered, and who prayed for His murderers, saying, "Father, forgive them, for they know not

business economy. "The rust of inaction is a greater harm to fine machinery than the wear of action. . . . If a mill can pay running expenses, there is less loss in paying wages than by rust and taxation." Article, "The Problem of the Manufacturing Town," "Andover Review," vol. v, p. 120.

* "Principles of Social Economy," p. 207.

† Quoted in "Working People and their Employers." By Washington Gladden. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885, p. 183.

what they do"? Have you not known how the living Christ is pouring His bounties into men's lives, only to be treated with scorn and neglect, yet only with infinite patience to enlarge His blessings that so He might lift men at last into a diviner life? Have not you yourselves, intelligent and well-to-do, received countless mercies, which have been repaid only by neglect of thanks, or by the raising of your disloyal arms in blind and foolish mutiny? The serving Christ, rejected, yet still patiently serving, is to be your model and your leader. Again I quote Yves Guyot: "In the first place the effort"—made to help the workingmen—"is not collective, it is isolated; and, secondly, it is the tendency of the workmen to see but one thing—the difference between the gains of capital in a thriving industry, and the wages of their own labor; and they overlook the fact that, if their wages were suddenly raised, in however slight a proportion, the gain might soon turn to loss. Besides, they do not consider the risk. They see the immense profits made at a given moment, but they can not calculate the average profit, allowing for a fluctuation of prices. Sometimes they run up the cost price—'raw material, so much; my labor, so much'—and think they have made a very close calculation; but if the master's reckoning had been no closer, the works would long ago have been closed. The workman's ingratitude is not ingratitude, but ignorance."*

Captains of Industry, the task of elevating, and enlightening, and blessing your armies, and securing for them a wider distribution of your joint production, is difficult, often disappointing, but not impossible. You can suggest a thousand questions. You can raise a thousand objections. But never, in this way, will you meet current issues. When enough men among you see what is right, and true, and just, and resolve that whatever is thus right, and true, and just, shall be done, though mountains of difficulty stand in your path, this will be done.† "Your gallant battle-hosts and work-hosts," says

* "Principles of Social Economy," p. 206.

† "To pay labor according to profit, by whatever method that may be accomplished, is to recognize the true relationship between capitalists and laborers, which is that of common partnership."—Professor Henry C. Adams. Quoted from article, "Christianity and Wealth," "Century Magazine," October, 1884, p. 911.

Carlyle, "will need to be made loyally yours ; they must and will be regulated, methodically secured in their just share of conquest under you ; joined with you in veritable brotherhood by quite other and deeper ties than those of temporary day's wages !" And again : " God knows the task will be hard, but no noble task was ever easy." And again : " Let the Captains of Industry retire into their own hearts, and ask solemnly if there is nothing but vulturous hunger for fine wines, valet reputations, and gilt carriages discoverable there ? And thou who feelest aught of a godlike stirring in thee, follow it, I conjure thee ! Arise, save thyself ; be one of those that save the country ! " *

Men of business ! Yours is the privilege of winning a right royal manhood for yourselves and your fellows. Never might such lives be lived as may be lived by you in this day of grace. Yours is the privilege of sweetening by justice and by courtesy many a cup now full of bitterness, of lightening many a heavy lot, of transforming irksome and degrading toil into pleasant and ennobling work. " Your money-mills of to-day may be 'mills of God' to-morrow," † wherein you may, not grind up, but produce manhood. Your captainship is conferred for social weal. Your rulership, if well and diligently exerted, is for all largest service. For He who is our only rightful Lord and Master has said, " Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant."

* Carlyle's " Past and Present."

† Pidgeon's " Old World Questions and New World Answers," p. 139.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF WEALTH.

"If we command our wealth, we shall be rich and free; if our wealth commands us, we are poor indeed."—*Edmund Burke*.

"They should own who can administer; not they who hoard and conceal; not they who, the greater proprietors they are, are only the greater beggars, but they whose work carves out work for more, opens a path for all."—*R. W. Emerson*.

"Let the man
Whose eye regards not his illustrious pomp
And ample store, hut as indulgent streams
To cheer the barren soil and spread the fruits
Of joy—let him by juster measures fix
The price of riches and the end of power."—*Akenside*.

To speak of the "responsibilities of wealth," is but to speak, in briefer form, of the responsibilities of people who possess wealth. For wealth is a mere thing, while responsibility pertains only to persons or to a community of persons. If the phrase "The responsibilities of wealth," or of the wealthy, has in it the statement of actual facts, then the phrase itself involves some important particulars. The word responsibility brings us at once within the sphere of the conscience, of the instincts of right and wrong, of duty, of a standard of righteousness, of moral law. It brings us face to face with God, the supreme standard of righteousness, the source of moral law and the final and only authoritative judge of our fulfillment of our obligations or of our failure to fulfill them. To say that those who possess wealth have, because of this possession, special responsibilities, is to class economic action as moral action, and all that is worthy to be called economic science as moral science, and to build all

action concerned in the having, the getting, the using of wealth, firmly and squarely "upon the ponderous imperatives of moral obligation."

To speak of the responsibilities of wealth is to bring wealth into the same category with conscience. And to bring wealth and conscience into the same category is to affirm that, of itself, the possession of wealth is not incompatible with the possession and the healthy action of a conscience. For if the possession of wealth and the possession of a conscience are the possession of things that are incompatible with one another, then a man's first duty is to rid himself of his wealth, since it is his chief duty to maintain his conscience. In themselves, wealth and conscience, wealth and obedience to the supremest law of duty, wealth and the worthiest, saintliest character are not incompatible.

This is no unimportant conclusion. For in much of the thought of our time there is a notion that the Gospel of Jesus Christ puts a premium on poverty, and that no man can obey that Gospel and be rich. On one hand, it is said, the Gospel is true; the Gospel condemns riches; therefore no man can be a Christian and be rich. This is the fallacy of many religious enthusiasts. On the other hand, it is said, wealth is a necessity to human progress; the Gospel condemns wealth; therefore the Gospel does not meet human need; it is a foe to progress, and therefore it is not true. This is the fallacy of many skeptics and materialists. But the Gospel does not condemn wealth as such. Wealth and responsibility, therefore wealth and conscience, therefore wealth and highest duty, therefore wealth and Christ may co-exist. Otherwise, our phrase, "The responsibilities of wealth," is emptied of all meaning.

Wealth, as an economic word, is the sum of all the objects of value which a man possesses; so that the man who owns but the scantiest furniture of a hovel has wealth. In popular usage the word means the possession of such a sum of articles of value, especially of money, or that which represents or has the power of money, as is above the sum of values possessed by the average man. Such usage is, of course, comparative and indeterminate. Every man, whether he has much or little, is responsible for the right use of what he has. But it is

with those who belong to the five talents and ten talents rank, rather than with those of the one talent, that we have now to deal. "For to whom much is given, of him shall much be required." This is the law of all obligation. The greater the power the higher is the responsibility.

And first of all, the possession of wealth carries with it the duty of clearly recognizing a responsibility for its righteous use. Responsible to whom? To men? to society? Yes: in a very real sense. Wealth is a social good. It is only possible where society exists. Robinson Crusoe had many utilities on his island, but no values, no wealth. Society is a factor in the creation of wealth.* Therefore it is a judge as to how wealth shall be used. It may enforce this judgment in the way of laws. It does so in all forms of taxation. It may assert this judgment by the power of public opinion. Society has the right to assert such judgment. It has the right to say that one use of wealth is mean and another generous, one use tyrannical and another noble, one use economically wasteful and hurtful, and another economically thrifty and helpful. And public opinion has power. It has again and again interfered to prevent the grinding of the so-called iron laws of rent and wages. It has forced men to a considerate regard for social claims and social duties.†

But there is a higher and larger responsibility. Whence came your wealth? From your own efforts? From the efforts of your ancestors? Yes. But who gave the strength, the skill, the opportunity, the material? God. He made all things. He owns all things. The earth is His. The plowman who breaks the soil, and the seed which the sower sows therein, the rain that feeds the grain, and the sun that ripens it, the forests on the hill-sides, the coal and gold in the mines, all are God's. He made them all. The strength to toil, the genius to invent, the capacity to organize, the very physical and mental needs under whose pressure labor is demanded, and thrift becomes an instinct, are God's endowments. So He has made us.

* "The value of a dollar is social, as it is created by society."—R. W. Emerson.

† Walker on "Wages," p. 363.

Socialism affirms that the earth belongs to humanity, to society. But Christianity goes farther and affirms that "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof." And when we have recognized the fact that the first title to ownership is vested neither in individuals nor society, but in God, then we may ask ourselves whether God's will, as it is revealed in Scripture and in human history, is best served by such individual trusteeship as shall both develop personal manhood and promote social weal, or by a social ownership, such as dwarfs manhood and refuses recognition to any diviner will than the will of its own social order. God is the owner of all wealth.*

Whether wealth is lodged in the trustee hands of those who regard or disregard the monitions of conscience, all wealth exists side by side with a conscience, because it exists as the endowment of a man. And wherever a man is, there a conscience is. And wherever a conscience is, there a witness for God is ; there God's supreme law is, there an inalienable, divine sovereignty of ownership is. This is the teaching of the New Testament as to the right of property. It is a derived right. It is an intrusted right. It is a right under God. This is the teaching of all true ethical and economical philosophy. A German defined the distinction between Communism and Christianity thus : "Communism says, 'What is thine is mine' ; Christianity says, 'What is mine is thine.'" This is not the distinction. To quote an English writer, "Christianity really teaches us to say, 'What seems thine is not thine ; what seems mine is not mine ; whatever thou hast belongs to God, and whatever I have belongs to God ; you and I must use what we have according to God's will.'"† Ah ! this truth gives real meaning to the phrase, "the sacredness of property." Here is actual sacredness ; the sacredness of a right to possess securely ; the sacredness of a duty to use wisely ; both inhering in the supreme right and will of God.

A very visionary theory some will call this—a theory that will not work amid the complex interests and activities of pro-

* C. H. Parkhurst in "New Princeton Review," January, 1886, p. 34.

† "Laws of Christ for Common Life." R. W. Dale, LL. D. London : Hodder & Stoughton, 1885, p. 35.

duction and exchange. Well, we read that when Jesus Christ taught this theory of property, "the Pharisees, who were lovers of money, heard all these things, and they scoffed at Him." And we may scoff, too, and be Pharisees in our money greed. But let us remember that it was against these scoffers that Christ uttered the warning parable of "The rich man and Lazarus." And Christ tells us, in that solemn word-picture, that against a rich man, whose only crime was that he thought his wealth was his own to spend as he pleased, the Infinite Love, raised to the white heat of indignation, flashed out in intolerable displeasure as against a breach of good faith, a default of trust, a criminal violence committed against the indefeasible divine right of ownership and control. The possessors of wealth are responsible for their uses of wealth, first to God, and then, under God, to society. And their chief duty is to recognize this responsibility.

Again, the possessors of wealth are responsible for promoting by precept and by example, in their own social circles, and throughout all social circles, a conviction, fixed and strong, against the notion that the gaining of material wealth is the chief end of man. Material wealth is a good, both great and necessary. Man's adaptation to secure it, indicated alike by his needs, his capacities and his opportunities, and by the very structure of the earth in its relation to man, is a token of the Divine will as to his duty to secure it. Even large wealth, in faithful hands, is a social blessing. But the acquirement of wealth is not the highest social good. And when it is made such highest good, to be sought at the expense, and even by the sacrifice, of all other good, it becomes a social curse. It is an economic blunder and fallacy that has regarded the personal, self-interested gaining of wealth as the single, or even always the dominant motive for the best economic and industrial action. And the more careful study of economic history and a wider generalization of economic facts are exposing this fallacy. The truer political economy of to-day is not what Mr. Mill defined it, concerned with man "solely as a being who desires to possess wealth, and who is capable of judging of the comparative efficacy of means for obtaining that end." *

* Walker on "Wages," p. 174.

Yet there is probably no country of the world where more than in our own, this economic fallacy holds the principal place as economic motive and where there is such a debasing idolatry of wealth.

On the 23d of June, 1883, before the class of 1853, in the chapel of Yale College, President Andrew D. White delivered an address on "The Message of the Nineteenth Century to the Twentieth." * He quoted Guizot's law of historical development. Guizot affirms that "in consequence of the domination of a single element each of the ancient civilizations either sank into immobility as in Egypt and India, or was developed with astonishing rapidity and brilliancy, only to decline and decay as rapidly, as in Greece and the commercial communities of the Mediterranean." With this principle as a basis, Mr. White shows that in contrast with England, Germany, Italy, France, where several ideas have been dominant, our own American civilization has been controlled by a single idea—what he calls "the mercantile spirit," the desire for gain-getting. This spirit has produced our rapid and brilliant progress, but if unchecked "it must also bring on afterward rapid decline and final sterility."

Already in the spheres of patriotism, politics, education, literature, art, religion, even of industry itself, has this spirit begun to do its disintegrating work. It has put United States Senatorships on sale.† It has created our oppressive monopolies. It has given us the wasteful and costly misgovernment of our cities. It has created a class of men in whom all finer traits of character are extinguished, whose aspirations are dwarfed, whose sympathies are destroyed; men benumbed in conscience, brutalized in feeling, highwaymen and buccaneers, whose right is might and who know no law but the law of their own audacity. It has set up a school where the philosophy of the Gradgrinds is taught, a philosophy "whose fundamental principle was that everything was to be paid for,

* "The Irving Library." New York: John B. Alden, December 26, 1883.

† "Formerly the United States Senate was regarded as conservative in the best sense; now it is coming to be regarded more and more as the bulwark of plutocratic bias. More and more are very wealthy men or their attorneys securing seats in the Senate, and in some instances by means that are suspect." —"Class Interests," p. 33.

that every inch of the existence of mankind from birth to death was to be a bargain across a counter, and that if we didn't get to heaven in that way it was not a politico-economical place, and we had no business there." *

This spirit has controlled in the choice of occupations. It has put educational short-cuts at a premium. It has made a scarcity of best men in the learned professions. Mr. White tells us that "the greatest and most wealthy churches in the United States are beginning to supply their pulpits from other countries. I can see various reasons for this," he adds, "but among these I see that the business spirit, the mercantile spirit, is drawing our strongest young men to professions simply lucrative." † Against this spirit the wealthy class should set themselves, even as some among workingmen have set themselves—all honor to them for it. For the sake of country, art, literature, religion, humanity, this debasing Mammonite spirit, this love and pursuit of mere gainfulness ought to be controlled.

None can exercise this control, or influence others to exercise it, better than wealth-owners. So live, so act, so speak, that your children and your neighbors' children shall cease to believe—what too many are taught to believe—that wealth, not social service and moral worth, is the chief good and the chief duty, and that a man's life consists in the abundance of the things that he possesseth. Believe rather, and act on the belief of the truth of Mr. White's words: "The greatest work which the coming century has to do is to build up an aristocracy of thought and feeling which shall hold its own against the aristocracy of mercantilism. I would have more and more the appeal made to every young man who feels within him the ability for great and good work in any of these higher fields, to devote his powers to them as a sacred duty, no matter how strongly the mercantile spirit may draw him. I would have the idea preached early and late, that the man who has powers fitted for this higher service, for the discovery or proclamation of religious truth or scientific truth, for literature, for science, for art, is false to himself and false to his

* Charles Dickens, "Hard Times."

† "Address," p. 17.

country if he deliberately puts his talents at the service of the mercantile spirit."* Men and women of wealth! Make this public opinion that shall help to save our nation and our manhood. Let no man's money, alone, be the passport to your social recognition or your personal friendship. Put the crown of your social honor on character, on thought, on intelligence, on moral refinement, on any good work nobly done. Let the plain fustian of the chosen, or compelled poverty of much of the worthiest manhood, stand conspicuous for acknowledgment amid the silks and broadcloths of your better pecuniary conditions. Seek for your children careers that shall develop and express character. Save the nation from the reproach and the degradation of becoming a nation of mere shopkeepers and money-makers. If God has given to you other capacity than merely to get or to care for wealth, exercise that capacity.

For, again, the possessors of wealth are responsible for all service of society, service for which the wealth furnishes opportunity and to which it gives power. The claims of this responsibility are not fully met by the mere use of wealth itself for service. Even the man who invests his money in industrial enterprise under other people's management, is doing a social service, though he lives on the interest of his investment. He is not an idler and a drone. Society is compensated for the living it gives him.

But other forms of service, personal service, are now in our thought. Wealth-owners, by the leisure which wealth affords, are responsible for using their leisure for public weal. Literary studies, historical investigations, scientific researches, these, if the knowledge and the culture does not end with the man who gains them, but if they are devoted to the increase of common knowledge and culture, are noble services. They who follow these pursuits are workers. It is a crime to treat them as drones.* And what better work can be done for society than that those to whom God has given capacity, and

* "Address," p. 19.

† "Without a class free from the immediate care of material maintenance, all the other higher concerns of society, art, science, and education, would languish or perish."—Moffat, "Economy of Consumption," p. 489.

through wealth has given leisure, should devote themselves to some of the social and economic and political questions wherein light and the comparison of facts, and the weighing of principles, and the molding of public opinion are so greatly needed, lest in our blind ignorance, or our selfish indifference, the cross-currents of these unsolved or wrongly solved pressing questions, whirl us into the vortex of violent and ruinous revolution?

Then, too, there is work to be done in lines of moral, social, and political reform, and philanthropic endeavor—work which shall take the workers out of the library, into the rush of public conflict and into scenes of suffering and shame—work to which people of wealth may reasonably devote themselves. When the late Prof. George I. Chace, of Brown University, relinquished the toils of his college workshop, he did not go into a luxurious idleness. He gave the strength of his ripened powers and the wisdom of his matured experience to the care of the sick, the rescue of the vicious, and the reform of the criminal. The heir to large possessions, who leaves the productive management of his estate to other hands, and gives his gratuitous labor to securing justice for the red man, as the Secretary of the Indian Rights Association, is not a social sponge, but a producer of moral wealth, whose example may well inspire the emulation of other rich young men.

Again, the possessors of wealth are responsible not only for rendering to society such personal service as their wealth specially fits them to render, but also for rightly using the wealth itself. The use of wealth as capital is, in itself, a public service, if the results of the use be a social good. There are some workingmen who declaim against capital and capitalists. But intelligent workingmen do not join in such declamation. They know that the amount of capital seeking employment, and the demand for labor seeking opportunity, are in very essential relations. Bank balances, savings-bank deposits, all forms of wealth that can be turned to productive use, are in themselves the helpers of labor. That the monopolist may borrow the savings of the workman, and turn them into an instrument for his oppression, and for unduly raising the prices of the necessities of life, is an incidental mischief, not any true economic element in the relation between capi-

tal and labor. That capital often grasps an undue share of the joint product is a wrong to be righted—not any real part of the lawful function of capital itself.

The man who, by his use of capital, either in large or small sums, either under his own management or the management of some chosen captain of industry, turns all possible wealth into some form of productive capital, and who thus fosters enterprise, stimulates production, enlarges the demand for labor, and increases its reward, both in the increase of nominal wages and in the advance of the purchasing power of wages, by the cheapening of the cost of necessities—such a man is a useful public servant. In other respects he may be a tyrant and a curse, but in this respect he is a benefactor. If for the average needy man, the best of all charity is such help as will enable him to supply his own needs, then he who aids production by his use of capital—even when that use brings gain to the user—is performing the, in itself, noble service of furnishing to needy men the opportunity for self-help. And when we know the relations of wealth as capital to the material, and even to higher forms of social advantage, we are sure that by both moral and economic principle this method of using wealth is one of the chief ways of meeting the responsibilities of wealth.

This responsibility implies that personal consumption of wealth shall not diminish needlessly the productive power of wealth. Take what is called dead capital. There are huge dwellings, piles of brick and timbers, out of all proportion to the possible occupancy of the present or any future owners—dead capital, that when it has once fed and clothed the workmen who constructed the dwellings has ceased to be of productive service. There are vast areas of vacant land, earning no income, growing no crops, hindrances to communal prosperity, making all land more costly, rendering healthy homes for the less fortunate classes impossible or too costly, keeping out of productive use the money for which the land would sell or lease—dead capital, and quite stenchful, too, in the nostrils of all sound economic principle.* There is extrava-

* Holding city lots for speculative purposes ought to be prevented by the state. In Neuchâtel, the city has taken possession of the ground, and leases

gant expenditure for costly jewels and dress, and equipage and entertainments, extravagance arising out of vanity, or sensuality, or love of adornment, resulting in dead or squandered capital. We are not ascetics. We are not called to live in cells, to wear serge shirts, to eat black bread and broth. The instinct of beauty is a divinely given instinct. When a man can surround himself with such attractive forms of household and personal adornment as shall develop the inward beauty of his life, and render him a better servant to humanity, he has the right and the duty of such surroundings. Sumptuary laws have always been a failure. Human nature can not endure them. We would not seek their enactment. But when we condemn the wasteful vanity of Cleopatra for drinking pearls, or of Heliogabalus for feasting upon nightingales' tongues, are we sure that we are not under the same condemnation? Social festivity has its true place in our life. But can there not be as much real social festivity at our inexpensive afternoon teas—blessed be the inventor of them!—as at an all-night entertainment that costs thousands of dollars, “and leaves nothing but withered flowers, rumpled vanities, deranged stomachs and overtaxed nerves?” It will be said, all these things furnish work. Yes; so does a conflagration. An uncle of J. B. Say, the French economist, broke his wine-glass after dining, remarking “The world must live.” Say wondered “why he did not break the rest of his furniture for the benefit of the world's workmen.” That a product wears out prematurely, and must be replaced, is no industrial benefit; no more is extravagant expenditure. It furnishes immediate employment. But it stops there.* If the mere furnishing of work, without reference to the continued productiveness of that work, be an end to be sought, then Nero fiddling while Rome was burning, and the cow kicking over the lantern in the Chicago shed and setting the city ablaze, were inspired by true economical principles. “The real question to be consid-

it, on penalty of forfeiture, only on condition that buildings shall be erected on it.

* Even in furnishing immediate employment there is only a transfer of employment. The money that replaces, through labor, a broken pane of glass, would be more beneficial to labor at large if expended in purchasing a pair of shoes. Needless labor is social loss.

ered in discussing the ethics of luxury," said Laveleye, "is, is it useful?" "We may consider luxury," he continues, "from three points of view: First, from the moral point, as concerning the individual: within what limit is the perfect satisfaction of wants useful in the normal development of the human faculties? Second, from the economical point: to what extent is luxury a help or hindrance to the increase of wealth? Third, from the point of right and justice: is luxury compatible with the equitable division of products and with the general principle, that the remuneration of each person ought to be proportional to the amount of useful labor he has performed?"* No wealth-owner has a moral or an economic right to slay or to consume more than is needful for the healthful satisfaction of reasonable wants. For he is bound so to use his total wealth as to lift up to higher levels the capacity of average men to procure not only the necessities, but some of the finer gratifications of life.

Again: beyond the responsibility for promoting production, and for refraining from such a burial or destruction of wealth as will prevent it from continuing as capital, the possessors of great wealth are responsible for the philanthropic use of wealth in the promotion of general social weal. Whatever enlarges intelligence and morality, enlarges manhood. Whatever enlarges manhood, enlarges industrial power and productive results. Schools, colleges, free libraries, free lectures, rational amusements, playgrounds for children, churches as schools for moral training, enlarge manhood by enlarging intelligence and morality, and so enlarge productive results. And these industrial results in turn, rightly distributed, furnish enlarging conditions for enlarging manhood. Much as we may and should increase the functions and the duties of the State in reference to all these interests—except as regards the work of the Church—a great field will yet remain for private enterprise, both individual and combined. Are there no men and women whose duty it is to endow chairs in our academies and colleges? Are there none who, while the State lags, can establish schools where boys can be taught trades, and

* Émile de Laveleye, Art. "Luxury." "Popular Science Monthly," March, 1881, p. 676.

girls both trades and the art of housekeeping? Are there no men or women who can build noble monuments for themselves, and render vast social service, even to yet unborn myriads, by establishing and equipping public libraries, or by providing Young Men's Christian Associations with permanent homes? Are there none who will do what Peter Cooper did for New York, and Enoch Pratt for Baltimore, and what George Peabody did for a multitude of cities in this country and in Europe? Do God, and righteousness, and honest consciences rule among our people of wealth? Or do Mammon, the devil, selfishness, debauched consciences rule among too many of them? No man may dictate to its possessors as to the special methods for the philanthropic use of wealth. There is impertinent assumption, often displayed by those who, representing public schemes, stand at rich men's doors with an air that says: Your wealth is bound to be put at our disposal. But every rich man is under obligation, social and divine, to be a philanthropist as well as a producer, and to guide his philanthropic as well as his productive action by the soundest economic and moral principles. There is division of labor here as well as elsewhere, and every man must decide on his own conscience and before God how he may most usefully bestow his wealth. But he ought to decide, and he ought to bestow according to his ability. Art galleries may be erected and furnished. The Cleveland experiment,* of providing the people with wholesome amusement and with attractive instruction, overcoming, by good, the evil of frivolous and debasing amusement, may be repeated in all our cities. Companies can be organized that shall provide, for workmen, decent homes at moderate rentals; or that may aid, with counsel and capital, co-operative enterprises which workmen direct. Here are fields where surplus wealth may produce large social harvests. In these directions the perplexing question as to lucrative investments may find solution.

The world has had men who have done such noble deeds. It has to-day very many who are doing them. Poor men pass their elegant homes with never a throb of envy. Mountains they are in the social world. Round their heads no terrors

* "Century Magazine," January, 1885, p. 390.

flash. Down their sides no avalanches thunder. They are—to adapt Ruskin's words—pure and white hills near to the heavens, and sources of good to earth, the appointed memorials of that light of God's mercy that fell, snow-like, on the Mount of Transfiguration.* Would that all were such ! Would that there were none who are, or are growing rich, and who are, or are growing mean ! Would that there were none who, surrounded by huge sepulchres full of dead capital—emphasizing and manifesting, by their wasteful and demonstrative extravagances, the vast gulf between those who have and those who have not—are feeding the flames of Socialism and making it an increasing power and peril ! Would that there were none who, like Silas Marner, the weaver, have forgotten the purpose of wealth, and have come to love it for its own sake ! “The weaver's hand had known the touch of hard-won money even before the palm had grown to its full breadth. For twenty years mysterious money had stood to him as the symbol of earthly good and the immediate object of toil. He had seemed to love it little in the years when every penny had its purpose for him ; for he loved the purpose then. But now, when all purpose was gone, that habit of looking toward the money and grasping it with a sense of fulfilled effort, made a loam that was deep enough for the seeds of desire ; and as Silas walked homeward across the fields, in the twilight, he drew out the money and thought it was brighter in the gathering gloom.”† Would that there were none like him, men for whom money has ceased to have a noble purpose or for whom it never had such purpose ! Would that there were none who were moral Saharas, sucking into their absorbing sands all social sunshine and rain, but returning only the blistering simooms of their desolating greed !

Brave and true were the words spoken by President White concerning such as these : “I might remind you that nothing is so sure to bring on social disintegration as the senseless luxury or crude selfishness of great millionaires. The only thing that makes great millionaires tolerable in society is the noble

* “Modern Painters.” New York : Wiley & Halstead, 1858, vol. iv, p. 275.

† George Eliot's “Silas Marner.”

expenditure of their money. Millionaires who simply accumulate to the end of their days are mere fatty tumors on the body-politic; millionaires who set an example of senseless luxury are simply cancers."* What! Cancers? Why, is it not true that, unless a man makes his capital dead capital, or buries it in the ground, taking out from time to time enough to live upon, he must render to society at least some form of productive service? Yes, this is true.† But it is also true that this service may be rendered, not for the sake of the service, but exclusively for the sake of winning the reward in pecuniary gain which such service brings. And while society must have, and is benefited by, the service, it is the motive which prompts to the service that ennobles or degrades the man who renders it. And degradation of the servant means degradation of those who are served. No man of large wealth can satisfy a generous nature or an honest conscience by mere service in production. If the exigencies of business will not permit any withdrawal of capital for philanthropic enterprise, then let him curtail luxurious personal expenditure for the sake of such enterprise. No man, without leaving a stain upon his memory, can die rich, unless he has, either during his life or by will at his death, benefited society in other than industrial ways. No man can hope to escape the awful perils of greed and oppression, and all low trickeries and dishonesties which compass the path of the getting and the care of wealth, except by putting himself strongly, by means of his money, into the moral, intellectual, spiritual life of his community and his time.

"Charge them," said the inspired Paul, "charge them that are rich in this world, that their trust be not in wealth, but in God, and that they do good, that they communicate—that is, have large sympathies—that heart and hand alike train wealth to noble, social, human uses!"‡ It is for you and such as you this broad land over, to say whether

* "Address," p. 13.

† There is a use of capital that seems productive while it is really destructive. The world would have been richer if some capitalists of this sort had never existed. These men are enemies of all social weal. No sanction is given to their use of capital.

‡ Paraphrased from 1 Timothy, vi, 17-19.

increasing wealth shall curse or bless us, degrade or elevate us. It is for you to say whether the stains of injustice and oppression shall be taken from your capitalism; whether selfishness shall be turned into an enlightened self-love, sweetened and made tender and righteous by a Christian regard for others' rights and a Christian sympathy for others' needs; whether education, art, morality, religion, and a wider distribution of all industrial benefits shall raise the masses of humanity to higher levels of character and condition! What will you say? What will you do? How will you treat your noble trust? How will you meet your supreme responsibility to society and to God?

You can not meet this responsibility by communistic distribution. Neither God nor best social interest call you to that. That is the coward's refuge, when he dare not face the world and duty. You can not meet your responsibility by miserliness or misanthropy. Only a devil in your hearts will summon you to that. You can meet responsibility only by an honest administration of your wealth as a trust given you for the worthiest social ends.

Hear a Chicago business man, Mr. Franklin McVeagh, speaking to his fellows at the Commercial Club, of Boston: "Democracy, after all, is not more a governmental revolution than it is a social revolution. The greatest concession, it seems to me, that will be demanded of wealth by democracy—a concession that will answer the demands of progress as well—will be the frank acknowledgment of a moral trusteeship, of a moral obligation to freely use surplus wealth for the general good. Happy the necessity, beneficent the tyranny that will thus rule trade and wealth to their own glorious enfranchisement! . . . Once inspire trade with such an aim, free wealth from its spiritual bondage through this great ideal, give to all the pursuits of business such a right royal sanction, that they shall take rank and dignity with all the work that is done for humanity in its best estate, with poetry, with every form of literature, with every form of art, with statesmanship, with apostleship—Croesus hugging his millions to his bosom as his own, in the narrow sense of ownership, rejecting the idea of trusteeship, will be overwhelmed in the rush of the current of modern ideas. Croesus accepting the idea of trusteeship will

be the new force in civilization for which the world is waiting."* Are not such words an echo of the New Testament teaching? Are they not rays from Jesus Christ, the light of men? Well says the editor of the "Century," "such a recognition of moral trusteeship will pluck the sting from Socialism and save to the world the fruits of enterprise."† Thus only, O men of wealth, can you meet your responsibility, by rendering unto God, through rendering unto society, proportionate return for the benefits you have received and for the talents with which you have been intrusted.

* Quoted from the "Century Magazine," December, 1885, p. 38.

† December, 1885, p. 38.

CHAPTER XII.

PERSONAL MORALITY AN INDUSTRIAL FORCE.

"Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."—*The Apostle Paul*.*

"Think'st thou there is no tyranny but that
Of blood and chains? The despotism of vice—
The weakness and the wickedness of luxury—
The negligence—the apathy—the evils
Of sensual sloth—produce ten thousand tyrants
Whose delegated cruelty surpasses
The worst acts of one energetic master
However harsh and hard in his own hearing."

—*Byron's "Sardanapalus."*

"Just try for a day or so to think of all the odd jobs, as to be done well and truly in God's sight, not just slurred over anyhow, and you'll go through them twice as cheerfully, and more efficiently."—*Mrs. Gaskell*.

WE consider godliness as it is related to our earthly life. We consider it as still further limited in its relation to some of the industrial features of the earthly life. Though the principles presented concern all who have any part in the world's work, these principles are especially addressed to workingmen, distinctively so called. Godliness means literally piety or reverence for God. But without doing violence to this literal sense, we may take godliness as meaning the sum of all right moral actions, among which reverence for God is the highest action and the ground motive for all other right action. For this English word godliness is really Godlikeness. A goodly man is a Godlike man—that is, a man who, under his conditions and relations, acts in a way most

* 1 Timothy, iv, 8.

like that in which God acts under his conditions and relations. Godliness is righteousness—that is, it is the highest morality. There is a sense in which we use the word morality considered apart from religion and God, and I shall so use it in this chapter. But this sense is always really related to God. If moral action is not based on religion, it always feels the influence of religion in the moral standard which religion has set up in the common social conscience—a standard by which even the irreligious personal conscience judges itself and is itself judged by others.

Of all highest morality, God is the source and sanction. He is the source and sanction of anything other than the highest that is worthy to be called morality, even though the doer of the act may neither recognize nor regard God. An action is not right because it is useful ; it is useful because it is right. It is right for you to do this, it is wrong for you to do that, because by virtue of the eternal principle of righteousness which is the character of God for you here, now, in your present circumstance, this is right and that is wrong. That God is the source and sanction of all true moral action, is a fact assumed and affirmed, rather than a fact now to be argued.

Whether God be recognized or not in the action, whether morality finds in piety both its root and its fruit, or sustains no relation to piety ;—all moral action is, so far as it is moral action, righteous, and like God, and the man in respect to that action is godly. Moral action, that does not regard God, is, however, not entitled to be regarded as godly in any but an inferior and accommodated sense.

Morality, whether determined by the public opinion that is dominated by the thought of God, or by the personal conscience controlled by reverence for God, has promise of the life that now is. And the degree in which the promise is realized is in proportion to the degree in which the morality of action is attained. This does not mean that the most moral man will be the richest man ; but that the man who, according to his capacity and in his relations, acts according to the highest principles of moral obligation, will, on the whole, accomplish the most with his capacity and do the best that is possible in his relations. How can it be otherwise ? The uni-

verse is not split in twain. There are not two sets of laws, one for the visible, the other for the unseen universe ; one for the life that now is, the other for that which is to come. There is one set of laws ordained out of the one changeless character of the one God. Wherever man, a moral being, with a conscience, a will, a responsibility, comes into relation to the material world and its laws, his action on the material world is moral as well as material action, because it is the action of a being who is under moral law. Hence an intentional violation of known physical law is also a violation of moral law, because it is the act of a personal will against the protests of a personal conscience. It must be, then, that moral law has much to do with man's action in his relation to the material world, and with the results of that action both upon the actor and upon society.

In claiming that the best industrial results are, in the nature of things, essentially related to the best morality, we must not claim too much for morality. Morality can not make weak men strong, nor foolish men wise. It can not reverse the laws of nature. In a community largely immoral, or where the standards of business and industry are degraded, and business and industrial methods and practices are rotten with all trickeries and gross dishonesties, the personal moralities of individuals can not secure in personal industrial results what might be secured if the common standard were less immoral. Though every workingman were honest, while every employer was dishonest, the total social result of industrial action would not be so large and so noble as if both workmen and employers had been honest.

We can not always test our principle by individual cases, and by short reaches of history. Some men do wrong and seem to prosper ; others do right and seem to fail. The old problem that troubled the Psalmist when he saw the wicked flourish, often perplexes men, even to-day. We must take a large aggregate of individual instances and study history in its sweep of vast spaces, if we would find full confirmation of our principle. Many elements enter into the final industrial result, such as government, climate, soil, location, intelligence, natural industrial aptitudes. But among these elements, morality must have a chief place. No morality can secure a high

industrial civilization in Kamtchatka. But no form of government, fertility of soil, rivers, harbors, mines, inventive genius, powers of productive organization, can hinder, in the long run, industrial deterioration, commercial disaster and social ruin in England, France and America, if the workers, the leaders or the led, are degraded by personal and industrial immoralities.

For look you ! The chief factor in industry is not capital, in material, or money or machinery ; not directing skill or labor force. These are essential factors, but not the chief one. The chief factor is man, and the industrial action of man, and the total results of that action, depend upon the totality of the manhood, the character of man as a moral being, obedient or disobedient to moral law. The largest manhood, other conditions being equal, means the most socially serviceable production. And the most morality, other conditions being equal, means the most manhood. The most industrially prosperous nations of the world are those that, with equal conditions, are the most moral nations. The most prosperous men are on the whole those who, with conditions of intelligence and skill and opportunity equal to others of the same class, are on the whole the most moral men. Certain it is that immorality in personal life, resulting in failure of conscience in industrial life, will bring degradation to the worker and the work, and loss to society.

A few years ago English cotton cloth would not wash. When the clay and the starch were rinsed out, the cotton was left a mere rag. A friend told me how, on opening a bale of English goods, the dust, from the clay with which the cloth had been adulterated, filled the room and choked the occupants. What was the result ? American cotton goods were sold in Manchester and London. India raised cotton, manufactured goods and captured the markets of India, China and Australia. Did want of morality have a good or bad industrial result ? Said Mr. Mellor, M. P., in denouncing the deceptions of manufacturers, "They seem to believe that the consuming inhabitants of the globe are all fools except themselves." He mentioned the case of an engineer who in crossing the Indian Ocean was decorating his turban with muslin. "Is that English ?" he was asked. "No, it is from Switzer-

land. The English makes my fingers stick ; it is gummy." * Let such deceptions extend to all branches of trade, and what will become of trade ?

Suppose, on the contrary, that all Captains of Industry were not only honest in the quality and uses of their material, but that they were faithfully meeting those obligations pertaining to their rank, which have been here urged upon them ; all acting, as many of them are acting, as citizens of the kingdom of God, every one of them an Owen, or a Titus Salt, or a Fairbanks, or a Cheney ; suppose that all men and women of wealth were doing what some are doing, meeting to the full the responsibilities of wealth, living as moral beings, with consciences void of offense toward God and toward their fellows : can any one who reads history, and who understands the first principles of economic and ethical philosophy, doubt what would be the result on industrial and social prosperity ? Morality, then, has essential relation to general industrial well-being.

When we study carefully the unhappy and hostile attitude that those who represent capital and those who represent labor, are at present maintaining, each toward the other, we find deep-seated moral causes at the basis of this attitude, and at the basis of the conditions out of which the attitude has arisen. The growth of democracy, and the ignorance of that growth, or the contempt of it, will not wholly explain this attitude. Capital has been grasping, grinding, harsh. Men have been in haste to be rich, and in their wild eagerness have not only pierced themselves through with many sorrows, soiling the fair face of their conscience so that it reflected no light of God, but they have trampled with ruthless heel on the hearts and lives of their fellow-men. Riotous speculation—turning our exchanges into gambling hells, and into arenas where veritable bulls and bears have tossed and crushed each other in a conflict of savage beastliness—has robbed honest capital of its profits, and labor of its wages and its bread. Oppressive taxation has despoiled industry of its fruits, be-

* "Duty." Samuel Smiles. Franklin Square Library, p. 9.

"Bad Times." Alfred Russel Wallace. London : Macmillan & Co., p. 77.

"Encyclopædia Britannica," ninth edition. Art. "Adulteration."

cause the contents of the public purse have been openly squandered or stealthily stolen. Forgeries, defalcations, bank-robberies, breaches of trust, have added to the general confusion, turned property out of productive channels, and scattered to the winds the hard-earned savings of the poor. Here are immoralities that manifestly affect the conditions of industry, and render more difficult the solution of the labor problem, because rendering the burdens of labor more difficult to bear.

Yet even if these conditions could all be changed ; if capital were wholly just ; if financial crimes could be repressed ; if gambling speculation could be abolished ; if taxation could be reduced to the lowest point ; if, for instance, municipal administration in New York city could be made as cheap and as effective as it is in Berlin—even then the day of labor's redemption would not have been reached. For the industrial redemption of labor depends largely upon the moral conditions of labor. So long as labor itself fails to reach the highest moral standards, so long will the best industrial results be unattained either by the laborer or by society. No immoral laborer is a good or useful factor in industry. That the condition of labor is by no means what, on the whole, it ought to be, is due in part to the moral failure of labor itself.

Do not misunderstand these statements. There are conditions of labor for which the present generation of workingmen are in no wise responsible. Their own ancestry are responsible. The whole ancestral race of capitalists is responsible. Society, past and present, is responsible. While conditions remain unchanged there are some things that even morality can not do. But morality tends to change many conditions. Morality will make better work, and sweeter life, and happier hearts, even with some conditions unchanged. Lack of morality has made some of the conditions, and rendered others more difficult of removal.

Again, do not misunderstand. It is not said that there is not as much honesty, truthfulness, purity, faithfulness among workingmen, as among any other equal number of men. It is not said that the vices of workingmen are more hurtful to social good, and more obstructive to industrial progress than the vices of those regarded as of higher social rank. They are not so hurtful. The molten lava of pernicious influence

that pours from a social volcano, and that wastes the fertility of its own slopes and of the valleys at its feet, is more destructive than the miasma that lurks in the valleys. What society wants is, to abolish both the lava and the miasma. But the abolition of miasma is a task that the dwellers in the valley must take, in the main, upon their own shoulders.

The real morality among workingmen is itself conscious of the immorality around it. It yearns for improvement in the condition of its fellows. It works for that improvement. And it is not to find fault, not to bring charges, but to deepen conviction, to intensify yearnings, to co-operate with all noble workmen in all noble work that these words are written.

As far as the redemption of labor involves improved morality in the ranks of labor, so far labor's redemption is in labor's own hands. Take ignorance. It is not always the fault of society or the State that there are ignorant workmen. There is no man with any sort of mental capacity who need remain ignorant. If he listen to his conscience, he will not remain ignorant. He will not remain ignorant of the things which he must know to perform his allotted tasks in the best way. Intelligence is a duty. The failure to be intelligent, within the sphere of one's own life and work, unless capacity to know be wanting, is more than intellectual lack; it is moral default of duty. Moral motives must be felt in all their urgency, compelling a man by his own endeavor to supply his defects in intelligence, which society or the State, through their failures in duty, may have put upon him.

Take the duty of justice. Every man wants justice done by others to himself. But men are not always careful to do justice to others. You workingmen ask justice from your employer, as you ought to ask it. But do you always do justice to him? A London builder once inquired of a young man where he was going. "Oh, I am going to Mr. So-and-so's to work." "At the pace you are going you will not get there until it is time to leave off." "I am very sorry, sir," was the man's apology, "but we are not allowed to sweat ourselves if we are walking in your time." Was that honest? Was it an encouragement of justice on the part of the Union, whose then existing rules required such action? Perhaps it had not occurred to the man or to his fellows, that there was no moral

difference between stealing money from a man's purse and stealing money by waste, in needless loitering, of the labor-time that money had paid for. Was this good industrial morality? Was it even wise self-interest? Could such injustice fail to react in damage both to wages and to character?

There are wastes of material, by indifference and carelessness. This is no insignificant item in the expenses of many large establishments. Of course, accidents will happen. But reckless waste is immorality. It is a defect of justice. "This is the employer's property, not mine. It is not my business to take utmost care." It is your business. You would not wish another to treat your material thus. And what you would not wish another to do with that which is yours, you ought not to do with that which is another's. The golden rule, the law of justice, is violated by all negligent waste. And wasteful production is extra-costly production; and extra-costly production means, in the long run, production unprofitable to all who are concerned in it, to workmen no less than to employers.

Springing from injustice there are moral frictions in industry even more hurtful than material ones. Unless a man has proved himself unworthy of trust, trust is his right, and a withholding of trust is a robbery of his right. The employer who looks with suspicion upon his men, who counts them as his mortal enemies, who is always watching against cheating, and guarding against outbreaks, is arousing a spirit of suspicion in those who serve him; is making the very condition against which he stands in fear; and is creating an atmosphere which renders best work impossible. Workmen may also create such an atmosphere. Suspicion toward your mates, toward overseers, toward employers, envy, jealousy, hate often groundless, often exaggerated even when there is just ground, resentment of any advance of kindness or sympathy or practical help, as if the very fact that one is an employer, always sets some sinister motive lurking behind every action that had a righteous front or a humane face—this takes hope, energy, faithfulness, honesty, out of the workers and the work. "Trust, confidence between man and man," said a Knight of Labor to me—"this is what is wanted every-

where.”* This is what is wanted, and for this, morality, sense of justice, is wanted. Trust and honor—not low-browed, surly suspicion—are every man’s due from every other man, until he has clearly forfeited that right. When all men learn the lesson ; when all men render the justice due ; when every employer regards his men as men, and treats them as men worthy of sympathy and fair dealing and kindly help ; when every workman shall refuse to use the language of the English collier, concerning his master, “All coal-masters is devils, and Briggs is the prince of devils” ; when the many noble employers, who earnestly seek from God grace to aid them in making their business a means of blessing to their men, shall no longer be hindered and harassed, and driven to sore discouragement by the suspicious and rebellious spirit that refuses to believe in their fairness, and their humane and just intent ; when the root of injustice in the want of reverence for a man as a man, shall be plucked out ; when men everywhere shall believe that Jesus Christ has revealed the awful greatness of a man as a man, high or low, rich or poor, commanding or commanded ; when we shall feel that to invade any man’s right is to commit the crime of sacrilegious profanation against the supreme Lordship of Christ—then, indeed, will the hour of labor’s redemption be drawing nigh. They who clamor for a recognition of their own rights, and a rendering of justice to themselves, and who clamor none too loudly, ought to see to it that they regard others’ rights, and that they do not, by waste of time and materials, and by blind and unworthy suspicion, fail to render that exact justice to others which they rightly, in the name of humanity, demand for themselves.

Take the morality of conversation. Reference is not made now to gossiping and lying talk—though this influences industrial action—but rather to profane and vulgar talk. A German Socialist, whom I was glad to welcome to my study, and from whom I learned many things, told me that when he

* “Would you make men trustworthy? Trust them. Would you make them true? Believe them. . . . When the crews of the fleet of Britain knew that they were expected to do their duty, they did their duty.”—“Sermons.” By Frederick W. Robertson. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1857. First series, p. 285.

came to America he was shocked and disgusted at the talk he heard in the shops. So low, ribald, profane, foul was it, that he could not work well for very faintness of heart and revolt of feeling. It is hoped that his experience is rare, and that such things are not common. "For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." Foul speech means a foul heart, and makes a foul heart. The man is more than the worker. But the worker is as the man. And bad speech is bad character, and means a bad worker and inefficient work. Moral ventilation in the workshop is as essential as atmospheric ventilation to most successful work, and should equally with this receive the attention of the workers.

Or again : take personal purity. What has this to do with work ? Much every way, for it has much to do with manhood. No wholesome manhood is possible without it. Sins against purity reduce physical energy, paralyze brain-force, enfeeble will, pervert conscience. They involve untruth and injustice, and a gross defilement of at least two temples in which the Spirit of God might dwell. They involve flagrant dishonesties. They touch, with their corruption, character at every point, and make probable a surrender to temptation to dishonesty in other forms. Our systems of modern industry afford special opportunities for these sins. And these sins degrade the worker and the work. If the nature of the subject did not forbid further discussion, it could be shown, and any man who thinks can follow the matter to its conclusions, that such noisome facts as were lately uncovered in English society, and some manifest failures to secure best moral influences in our own society, have a very appreciable effect upon the rate of wages, and upon all the moral incentives to most profitable industry.

On behalf of the womanhood of their own class, and of all womanhood, on behalf of noblest manhood and most effective work, workingmen ought to keep themselves pure. They ought to frown upon and protest against the men who commit these crimes. If any of their fellows are such men, if any employers are guilty of such acts, or for the sake of low wages connive at such deeds by others, self-respecting workers ought to refuse to work with such men and for such employers. Strike against these ruthless invasions of the sweetest sancti-

ties of life ! If you will use the boycott put it in force here. Noble manhood is noble work. Impure manhood is personal, social, industrial degradation.

Take morality in the family relation. Happy marriage is the natural condition of grown men and women. But marriage entered into blunderingly, blindly, without reflection, will be a man's misery and a woman's shame. It is no man's duty to marry a woman who can not manage a home, who is shiftless and slattern, whose disorder and dirt, and badly-cooked food, and general worthlessness and incompetence, will make home a hell, and the saloon a welcome paradise beside it. It is no man's duty or his right to make marriage a drain and an incubus upon his industry. The right to marriage does not exist, except there be the ability to meet the responsibilities of marriage. No man ought to marry who has not a reasonable expectation that he can support a family in a good degree of comfort, according to the standards of living in his own sphere. While too many men delay marriage, setting their standard of comfort too high, too many workmen rush into marriage without the slightest thought of their ability to conform to any standard. Much of the existing misery and poverty, and of the inability to meet the exigencies of commercial crises and of the conflicts often needful for getting the labor into the best market, are due to thoughtless or mismated marriages. The secret of one of the advantages which capital has in its conflict with labor is in this very burden, which labor lays upon its own shoulders. No man ought to expect society to provide for his household. No man ought to offer to society a larger household than his own good health, tough muscle, honest work, can rear and train for good social service. If, as our medical men tell us, and as statistics show, there is in some ranks of society a criminal and murderous rejection of the blessed crown of motherhood, there is in other ranks a disregard of personal justice, a want of economic foresight, a thoughtlessness as to social facts and laws, that are equally criminal. It is only when labor is thus recklessly improvident that Ricardo's iron law of wages has any reality of crushing force. A happy home life, thrift, the best conditions of industry, the future of the children, depend very much upon the intelligent recognition and practice by every work-

ingman of this essential morality that underlies the family relation.

Again : take the matter of the use of strong drink. You do not need to be told the facts. You know that the enormous tax upon all industry which intemperance imposes, the waste of capital which might be used in profitable production, the support of prisons and poorhouses, and police and criminal courts, which intemperance makes necessary, are all a tax upon the wage-worker. You know that the nation would be industrially, morally, and in every other conceivable way, richer if the hundreds of millions of dollars which are each year offered in tribute to the demon of strong drink, were rather cast into the depths of the sea. You know that drink consumes muscular energy and brain-force, wastes time, spoils material, detracts from the value of the work done, and lessens the wages earned. You have heard of Sir Thomas Brassey's gang of navvies on the Great Northern Railroad, who did more work and earned more wages in a day than any other gang, who always quit work half an hour earlier than others, and who to a man were teetotalers. You know that more money is spent for drink by the working classes than by any other classes. Have you thought what this money, thus squandered, in that which reduces physical and moral tone and makes incompetent workers and inefficient work, might do, if it were turned into wage-earning and capital-earning power, and were spent for food, clothes, books, pictures, homes ; or were put into savings-banks, or, even better, into the stock of a relief, a life-insurance, a co-operative society ? Do you not know that the poverty, vice, filth, incapacity, ignorance, crime, which curses the homes and lives of so many workers is due, in large measure, directly or indirectly, to allegiance to the drink tyrant ?

I do not forget that poverty, unhealthy or unhappy homes, the foul air in which many men must work, the darkness that shrouds so many lives, the lack of interest and of opportunities for clean and elevating social amusement which pertains to these lives, have much to do with fostering this drink-passion and with furnishing temptations to its indulgence. I do not forget that moral reformers, who recognize the facts of human nature, and are not blinded by the theories of enthusi-

asts, might do well to turn some of their energy toward removing the fuel as well as toward fighting the flame, and might and ought to arouse a philanthropic opinion and action, that shall concern itself with better homes and better pleasures for the workers. But the passion for drink is one of the prime creators of the conditions which, in turn, strengthen the monstrous despotism of their creator. The passion is in the man. Even with unchanged conditions it may be rooted out of the man, and so change the conditions. It will be rooted out of the man only as he gives himself, with all available divine and social helps, to the rooting out of the passion. Intemperance is personal immorality. Abstinence is personal morality. The man himself who would be moral must himself do the moral action.* Honor to the labor organizations that have set temperance among their corner-stone principles !† When all members of labor organizations come to dislike to work with the intemperate as much as they dislike to work with scabs ; when employers refuse employment to the intemperate ; when the consciences of all workmen are fully aroused to the essential relation between best morality and best industry, the temperance problem will have its solution, and a long stride will be made toward the solution of the labor problem.

Or take the principle that all work, worthy to be done, is service to humanity. This is fundamental morality. This is motive that may link itself with Christ. Service of humanity ! In this every worker is engaged, whether he thinks of it or not. The masons who lay the foundations, and the bricklayers, and carpenters, and gas-fitters, and decorators, who rear the superstructures of our homes ; the gardeners and farmers who supply our food ; the factory operatives who weave the material for our garments, and the tailors and sewing-women who make them ; the transportation agents who deliver the goods at our doors—all are doing us service. No home is so humble, no table so scant, no back so thinly clad, as not to

* "Who would be free himself must strike the blow." Motto of Denver "Labor Enquirer."

† On co-operation as a promoter of temperance, read the brilliant and powerful passage in Holyoake's "History of Co-operation," vol. i, pp. 265-268.

represent the service rendered by a multitude of toiling hands. Of course, in the beginning men were urged to labor by the necessity for supplying their own needs. But as society has advanced, few men supply their own needs by the direct fruits of their own labor. Each man sets his own labor for the supply of others' needs over against other men's labor for the supply of his needs. It is an economic fact, as well as the statement of a Christian law, that "no man liveth to himself." Now suppose men inspired by the high moral principle that worthy work is service for others, as well as service for self, suppose they could even reach the Christian ideal and put the thought of service first; what would happen? * The bitter, hopeless drudgery would be taken out of toil. Pattering feet and cheery laughter of little children, voices of fair women and strong men would mingle with the rattle of looms and the stroke of hammers, as the workers thought of the many lives into which the results of their own toil were to go with messages of help and good-will. Faithfulness would be put into work. For though some labor may not be a virtue; when labor is for service then shirking is a vice, and slovenly, slack, inefficient workmanship is a crime. The law may take no note of such crimes; but conscience on her judgment-seat and God upon His throne will take note of them. Slovenly work; and clothing wears out too soon, and the purchaser is robbed. Slovenly work; and it has to be done over and paid for twice, and money that might have gone into other production is squandered. Slovenly work; and anchor-chains break, and vessels, cargoes, men, go down. Slovenly work! It is impossible when work is thought of as service.

It was the grand aim of those true, mediæval Knights of Labor that they should finish their work with uttermost perfection. That will be the aim when work is service, when the supreme responsibility that attaches to the workman's calling is felt and responded to by him. "Oh, but my wages will not be increased if I work more diligently and more carefully; if I am as painstaking when the overseer is at the other end of the shop as when he is by my side." Your wages; perhaps

* "The Kingdom of Christ." Samuel Harris. Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1874, pp. 151-157.

not. But social gain and comfort will be increased, your own conscience satisfied, your own manhood uplifted.

You workmen tell your employers, in your true gospel of labor, that mere self-interest is not to be the chief economic motive. And you are right, though you often give a meaning to self-interest that no economic law gives to it; and you deny to it the place that Christ allows and commands it to hold in social life and economic action. But your gospel, in its spirit, is true. Yet you preachers of this gospel will shrink from practicing it, because its practice will have no immediate and appreciable effect on wages. I do not believe in taking away the motive of self-interest from before the minds of the workers. Distributive and industrial co-operation hold out such a motive. So does profit-sharing. And I believe in these methods, both for inciting to faithfulness and for remunerating it. But I believe also in your gospel, that every man should serve every other man. I believe in it as a gospel for employers, for capitalists, for workmen, for everybody. Preach, then, your gospel by practicing it. Put into action the power of the great moral principle of service. Under the eyes of selfish men, act the law of love, and do best work for work's own sake and for humanity's sake, to whom best work is most serviceable work. Only thus can best industrial results be assured. Only thus can you render yourself a necessity in your industrial position. Only thus can you ever advance in industrial rank. Only thus will universal good work increase the real purchasing power of wages, because increasing the wearing qualities of products that are not immediately consumed. Only thus will you do your part toward wiping away the reproach upon all industry which Carlyle growled forth, with much exaggeration doubtless, against the English workmen of his day: "Now, all England, shopkeepers, workmen, all manner of competing laborers, awaken as if to an unspoken and heart-felt prayer to Beelzebub. 'O help us, thou great lord of shoddy, adulteration, and malfeasance, to do our work with a maximum of slimness, swiftness, profit, and mendacity, for the devil's sake, amen.' " *

* Thomas Carlyle's letter to Sir Joseph Whitworth, "The Age of Steel," p. 268.

Workingmen ! While labor has often been oppressed by capital, by monopolies, by legislation, by an accumulated heritage of bad social customs, and evil social conditions, yet labor has been its own oppressor. "Every man is his own worst enemy." By the facts of history it is true that the vices of labor have been degradation of labor. The elevation of labor must come from labor itself, by the elevation of morality. High wages and shorter hours, though these are, on the whole, a great gain, will do little for men whose wages are squandered in drink, and whose leisure is wasted in idleness. Justice, treating another's time and material as if it were your own ; justice, giving to all men confidence and reverence rather than suspicion and contempt ; clean speech, pure life, wholesome and thrifty homes, temperance in all things, the spirit and aim of true labor that ennobles toil and transfigures it into service of men—all this surely must mean for labor better products, fairer distribution, growing intelligence, higher honor, increasing competence.

Employers may do much in furthering this moral improvement. Many are doing it. They put their sympathy, as well as their capital and their skill, into the workshop and into the lives of the workers. They strive, in all possible ways, to bring back into work the human interest and zest which machinery has stolen from it. They counsel and guide their men. Not a rare specimen, I am sure, was that employer of whom Rev. R. Heber Newton testifies : "From the start he established personal, human, living relationships with his men. He taught them by deed, rather than by word, to consider him their friend. He was in the habit of calling in upon their families in a social and respecting way. In all their troubles and adversity he trained them to counsel with him, and gave them the advantage of his riper judgment and larger vision. In cases of exigency his means were at their disposal, in the way of loans to tide them over hard times. His friends have seen, more than once, hard-fisted men of toil coming from his office with tears streaming down their faces. He had called them into his office on hearing of certain bad habits into which they had fallen, and so impressive had been his talk with them that they left

his presence with the most earnest resolves to do better in the future." *

Yet after all that others may do, the chief effort must be your own. Morality is the quality of a personal soul. Justice, cleanness of speech and conduct, prudence, temperance, serviceableness and their miserable, criminal opposites, are elements of personal character and conduct. And what you are affects all that you do, and all the results of what you do.

I would not offend your consciences by appealing to you to be and to do right for the sake of better wages, better product, or any industrial gain. I appeal to you, rather, to be and to do right for the sake of right, and character, and humanity, and God. But I have the privilege of declaring to you that bad morals have an essential relation to bad work, and to degraded social condition, while good morals stand in essential relation to good work and to improved social condition. Only in the progressive intelligence, thrift and morality of labor, is there any certain promise of improved conditions for labor. With these, other conditions must combine and keep pace. But these are essential. Let a workman speak to you. Mr. W. C. Jones, before a club of co-operators, said: "It behooves the workingman, above all things, to comprehend that high material results must be accompanied by high moral results; and that this combination can be secured only by the introduction and operation of higher modes of thought among his class." † Add to this the testimony of Prof. Alfred Wallace: "In every case in which we have traced out the efficient causes of the present depression, we have found it to originate in customs, laws, and modes of action which are ethically unsound if not positively immoral. . . . Whenever we depart from the great principles of truth and honesty, of equal freedom and justice to all men, whether in our relations to other States or in our dealings with our fellow-men, the evil that we do surely comes back to us, and the suffering, poverty, and crime of which we are the direct or indirect causes help to impoverish ourselves." ‡

* "Report of Senate Committee on Labor," vol. ii, p. 553.

† Quoted from an English newspaper.

‡ "Bad Times," p. 117.

I rejoice to believe that you workingmen are coming to understand these principles and more and more and more to act upon them, and that a reformation promoted by workingmen is going on in the ranks of labor. Your labor organizations and co-operative associations are teaching you great moral lessons. You are learning the meaning of justice, truth, confidence, sympathy, obedience, self-denial, service. All the influences with which your calling as workingmen surround your lives are opposed to an exaggerated individualism. Your very selfishness is "of a corporate character, which requires the good of the individual to be subordinated to the good of his class, and is only distinctly selfish in its action toward other classes." * Drop even this class selfishness. Let your employers, and those who rank with them, share, equally with your mates, in your justice and sympathy and service. This is the only real morality.

All men have claims upon your duty. If you would receive respect, honor, justice—yield them. So humanity shall be knit in its true co-operation of mutual helpfulness and fairly distributed industrial results. Be the most just, and pure, and temperate, and faithful men you can be. Your reward shall come. It shall come in an approving conscience, in an honoring public sentiment, in better social and industrial condition. Sure as God is God, this shall be. And if the struggle is hard, if the inward battle oft goes against you, if out of the depths of a vast soul-hunger for a nobler life, you cry, "Oh, wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me?" then come to the personal and living Christ, the Lord and Redeemer of men, the only standard and the source and inspiration of human strength for the attainment of that worthiest godlikeness, which not only has the promise of the life that now is, but of that which is to come.

* "Work among Workingmen," Ellice Hopkins. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1882, p. 182.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORKINGMAN.

“And He came to Nazareth, where He had been brought up; and, as His custom was, He went into the synagogue on the Sabbath-day and stood up for to read.”—*The Gospel according to Luke*.*

HE was in a workingman's garb. His hands were calloused by years of toil. Those who sat about knew Him at once as Jesus the carpenter. Strange things had happened to Him during His absence from Nazareth. His baptism in the Jordan, His anointing by the power of the Spirit, His fierce conflict with temptation in the wilderness, and his victory over the tempter, all had awakened Him to the full consciousness of His mission for the world's redemption. Behind Him was his old life, the boyhood and youth of preparation; before Him the new life, the short manhood of struggle, and service, and sacrifice. “What could a nature at that height,” said James Martineau, “have to do with any sacred inclosure of time and space? And yet at ‘Nazareth, where he had been brought up, He went, as His custom was, into the synagogue on the Sabbath-day.’ . . . To nothing newer or higher does He turn, but to the village sanctuary on the stated day of rest, to the place and on the day that had been sacred to the fathers before Him.”†

May not Christ's example well be followed by us all? Was

* Luke iv, 16.

† “Hours of Thought on Sacred Things.” By James Martineau, LL. D. First Series. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1876, pp. 3, 4.

He not, when standing there in the synagogue, standing in the current of humanity's deepest needs? Does not humanity need God; the inflow of His life, the strengthening of His grace? Is not humanity to find God, not only amid the solitudes of personal communion, and in the righteousness of daily action, but in the social worship through which God makes His voice audible, and in the social fellowship through which He reveals and illustrates His law of love? The workingman, of all men, should not disregard the example of Jesus, the carpenter, whose reverent and accustomed treatment of God's sanctuary and God's book, was a recognition of a universal human need, and a universal human duty.

In considering the relation between the church and the workingman, we use the word church with broad meaning. By the church we mean the divinely appointed institutions, that as human agencies, by the use of divine facts and truths and a divine life, have wrought the marvelous changes in men and society, that have redeemed souls, uplifted character, and secured all that is truest and best in our modern civilization.

A distinction is clearly recognized between Christianity as a supernatural truth and fact, and the human agency through which it has chiefly worked out its progress. It is not claimed that all best morality, that all Christianity even, is limited to the church. It is not claimed that apart from the church there are no social agencies for the promotion of righteousness. Due credit must be given to the State, the school, the press, the fraternity, for useful and needful work in the development of the Kingdom of God among men. But it is claimed that the church, loyal to its heavenly truths—reaching up, however fallibly, toward its great ideals—proclaiming as clearly as it may its gospel of redemption by Christ, consummated in an attained righteousness of character—symbolizing by its social order the brotherhood of men, the community of all human interests, the common dependence of all humanity upon God—it is claimed that such a church is an essential force in the promotion of all personal morality, and in the defense and maintenance of all that contributes to the safest social progress and the highest social good. It is further

claimed that if the time shall come when our sanctuaries shall be deserted, our pulpits silenced, our Bibles banished to the top shelves of our libraries, the thought of God will then grow dim and powerless in the minds of men. It is claimed that a morality which is no longer the supreme flower of an inward divine life, a morality whose principles are not grounded in the nature of man and in the eternal character of God, but only in a mere social and temporary expediency, will be a morality which will rob life of its sweetness, duty of its significance, conscience of its authority, brotherhood of its meaning, and which will turn press and school and State into instruments of confusion—since they will have lost the supreme inspiration to all noble endeavor—and which will sink society into the hopelessness of chaotic anarchy. It is further claimed that the real moralities found in men who reject the church, and the Christ, and even the Supreme God, are themselves possible, only, because of the influence upon the personal and public conscience, of the Book, the worships, the activities, of this despised church of Jesus Christ. Once let a stone-blind materialism or a purblind indifferentism pull down this central column, that sustains humanity in its highest moral action, and the temple of all worthy social order will tumble into ruins.

In considering the relation of the church and the workingman, no special emphasis is given to the fact that the workingman represents a class. The church, true to its mission, has nothing to do with classes, but with men. The workingman is a man. It has sometimes seemed as if the church had forgotten this fact. It has sometimes seemed as if the workingman himself had forgotten it. By as much as the very condition of a workingman makes his temptations fiercer, his sorrows heavier, his path rougher, his lot harder than in the case of other men, by so much is his need of the church the greater, and his claim upon the church for instruction, and sympathy, and defense, the more urgent. But our theme regards him chiefly as a man. His condition as a wage-earner is an incidental matter. His manhood is the essential matter. He is a man. Like other men, he is God's child, and is called to recognize God's fatherhood. He is a member of a race lost, but for Christ's redemption; a soul himself lost, but by ac-

ceptance of the Divine love extended to save him. He is called to a personal faith in the Saviour. He has a personal life to be lived, and he needs for himself all the influences that tend to make any life wholesome. He has a personal calling to fulfill, and he needs whatever forces will most help toward a righteous fulfillment of that calling. He is a man. Sorrows, trials, bitternesses, pains, such as come to others, come to him. He needs as others need, the rest, the balm, the solace, the comfort, that from God and from all Divine agencies for grace and peace can come to any man. He is a man. He represents a numerically very large class of men. He represents a socially important class of men. He calls himself one of the people. In so styling himself he may forget that all men belong to the people; that his rich neighbor is as really one of the people as he himself is. But he is one of the people. He is a vast social factor to-day. The name which he claims for himself characterizes the chief social and political tendency of our era. This is the people's era, the era of democracy. Never before in history did the single fact of manhood mean so much.

You are familiar with those brilliant pages introductory to De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America." You know the course of events there traced; all things in the lapse of seven hundred years turning to the advantage of manhood: the crusades, decimating the ranks and impoverishing the fortunes of the feudal nobles; the birth of the communes, introducing democratic liberty into the bosom of monarchy; the invention of fire-arms, putting serfs and knights on common fighting footing; the invention of printing opening the possibilities of education and intelligence to all minds; the reformation teaching every man his common priesthood before God, his common responsibility to Him, and his free personal access to Jesus Christ for all righteousness in this life and for all blessedness in the life to come; the discovery of America, offering a thousand new fields to fortune, "and placing riches and power within the reach of the adventurous and obscure." These and events like these have brought the age of democracy. "The first duty imposed at this time by those who direct our affairs is to educate the democracy, to warm its faith; to purify its morals; to direct its energies; to substitute a knowl-

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edge of business for its inexperience, and an acquaintance with its true interests for its blind propensities." *

If the church has any place as the educator of men ; if best morality must have divine sanctions, and if permanently best morality must have the supports and incentives of Christian truth, religious worship, and all the instruments of spiritual culture, then surely, for the sake of social order—no less than for the sake of saved souls and Christ's glory and a peopled heaven—the church can not refuse to this workingman—the man of the people—her most self-denying and earnest service. This workingman, for the most part, has a conscience. He has some "enthusiasm of humanity." He desires social progress and the social uplifting of all men, in peaceful and orderly ways. He, for the most part, recognizes the relation of the best morality to the best industry and its best fruits. And this workingman ought to ask himself : Is it true that the only real morality is based on divine sanction ; that right action comes from right character ; that right character is the product of the inward life ; that this inward life is God's gift through personal faith in His Son ; that this inward life is nurtured, not only by daily faithfulness and justice, and by personal communion with God, but by common and social religious worship and action ? This workingman ought to read history and see if it be not true that the church, its teachings, its worships, and the divine inspirations it has put into noblest lives have been essential elements in the progress of humanity. The workingman, for the sake of his work, his fellows, industrial progress, social order, no less than for the sake of his soul, can not afford to stand aside from the church. And the church, for the sake of society, can not afford to have this workingman stand apart from her spirit, her aims, and her activities.

Are there any existing facts which would seem to indicate neglected duty on the one side, and alienated feeling and neglected opportunity on the other ? We do not join the cry, grieved or joyous, according to the quarter whence it comes, that either Christianity or the churches are losing their hold

* "Democracy in America," Alexis De Tocqueville. New York : J. & H. G. Langley, 1848, vol. i, pp. 4, 5.

upon the minds of men. The facts are against the truthfulness of this cry.* Nor is it true that among those who remain outside of all Christian and church influence a proportionately greater number will be found among the laboring classes than among the well-to-do classes. Indeed, few more serious or perplexing problems confront the churches of to-day than how to reach the godless well-to-do, those who mistake outward competence for inward blessedness, who say, "We are rich and increased in goods and have need of nothing, but who know not that they are wretched and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." Yet making all due allowance for truths as against rumors, the exaggerations of timidity, the premature boasts of the enemies of righteousness, there are some facts that call for our earnest thought. Socialism, as a political and industrial system, whether of State or Anarchist type, is avowedly anti-Christian and largely Atheistic. This is affirmed, not now to condemn Socialism, but only to characterize it. This is not said as characterizing all who call themselves Socialists. But in the sense in which we have heretofore defined Socialism, this statement is true of Socialism in its philosophic basis, in its predominate tone, and as judged by the utterances and the practices of its recognized leaders.† Socialism regards the church as the French Revolutionists regarded it—an instrument for the oppression of the masses, for the soothing of conscience, for the lulling into quietude of all manly discontent; a thing so entangled with those institutions which democracy assails that it is compelled "to reject the equality which it professes to love, and to curse, as a foe, that cause of liberty which it might hallow by its alliance."‡ "We want no church," cries the typical Socialist. Down with the church! Away with Christianity! The priests, the preachers, are worse than drones in society. They are deceivers. They are oppressors. They are the allies of the money tyrants, growing fat upon the blood and toil of the poor. They are the hired defenders of the accursed system of wages slavery.

* Article, "Church Attendance," "North American Review," vol. 187, pp. 76-97.

† "The Aim of Socialism," Rev. John H. Oerter, "New York Tribune," June 1, 1878.

‡ "Democracy in America," vol. i, p. 10.

At a large religious conference in Berlin, Dr. Rocholl, of Cologne, in a paper on "What does the Social Democracy Preach to the Church?" said: "Social Democracy is irreligious; it wants to abolish God, and to retain Christ only as the first social Democrat."* No Socialist leader has contradicted this statement. In a discussion in Berlin between Christian Socialists and Social Democrats, one of the latter, now a noisy propagandist in America, said: "The Social Democracy will not recede; it will pursue its course and accomplish its design, even though all priesthood should rise against it, like a cloud of locusts thick enough to darken the sun. The Social Democracy knows that the days of Christianity are numbered, and that the time is not far distant when we shall say to its priests, 'Settle your account with Heaven, for your hour is come.'" A woman speaker said: "My religion is Socialism, and it alone is truth, morality, justice, and brotherhood. Down with the priests of every robe and every hue! The first reform to be accomplished is to change all churches into good habitations for workingmen."† There is no mistaking the meaning of this language. This is hostility. This is the attitude toward the church of large numbers of workingmen in Europe, and of no insignificant number in America.

Again: it is said by those who claim to know the minds of workingmen, that in our largest cities, like Chicago and New York, not only does a very small minority attend church, but that, Roman Catholics aside, only a small minority have any concern for Christianity. Mr. John Swinton, in a letter to the "Homiletic Monthly," declared, "I do not think that one tenth of the wage-earning classes in New York believe in Christianity at all."‡ If such statements are true, which I do not for a moment admit, then the prospect for the future of the working classes is a dismal and hopeless one.

It is said, that the workingman "finds a substitute for the religious ideas that his forefathers had, in turning his atten-

* Quoted from Prof. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, article, "Social Democracy," "The Homiletic Review." New York: Funk & Wagnalls, January, 1886, p. 93.

† Laveleye's "Socialism," pp. 107, 108.

‡ "Homiletic Monthly," Funk & Wagnalls, August, 1884, p. 649.

tion to the remedying of social evils, to the uplifting of his own class, and those beneath him, and to the righting of the injustice which is sustained by the working people, and which is the result of many social conditions and influences. And this result is produced in his mind, to some extent, by his inability to understand why the theory that is taught in the churches produces the practice that he sees among church-members." "One of the reasons why the workingman does not attend church is his inability, if he has a family, to come up to the social requirements of church-membership in dress and in contribution to the various objects that the church carries along with it." "I find, too, that we have had of late years, and still have, an increased ratio of church societies composed almost exclusively of the aristocracy ; that the church edifices are becoming another symbol of that peculiarity on which I have already remarked as a product of the time, the division of our people into marked classes."* A workingman writes in a personal letter that, though a believer in Christianity, he can not join any church because of the injustice, the aristocratic spirit, the mammon worship that so largely prevails among church-members. Others, still, join with the Socialists in affirming that the church is the tool of the rich ; that ministers are the slaves of the pews rather than the servants of Christ ; that they dare not preach the Gospel as Jesus and Paul preached it ; that they preach down rather than up, rebuking the poor rather than appealing to the conscience of the wealthy, that they deal with theological abstractions rather than with the facts of life and daily duty ; that in the church the workingman misses a "living voice and guidance in the difficulties which the world presents to him ; any keen sense even of the problems which he is so often blunderingly endeavoring to solve, and which press so heavily upon him."† Whether these statements be false or true or even partly true, is not now questioned. The statements are quoted that we may know how some workingmen feel and talk.

There are statements to be made from the other side. Mr.

* "Rep. of Senate Com. on Labor," vol. i, p. 50.

† "Work among Workingmen." Ellice Hopkins, p. 183.

John Jarrett, President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, himself a Congregationalist, testified before the Senate Committee on Labor : "Our object in our organization is to bring into actual operation Christian influences and Christian principles as taught by the Christian religion." He was asked : "To what extent do what we call evangelical Bible influences dominate or obtain in the rituals of trades-unions and in the moral lessons and principles which they inculcate ? Are they antagonistic to the drift of evangelical doctrines generally ?" Mr. Jarrett replied : "As far as our organization is concerned they are in perfect accord. We had a convention in Philadelphia a few weeks ago, and I would venture to assert that of the one hundred and eighty-six delegates who were present, representing lodges from Portland, Me., to Oakland, Cal., seven eighths were men who were connected with Christian churches."* I asked a friend who has a large acquaintance among workingmen, and exceptional advantages for meeting them, to inquire of those whom he regarded as non-church-goers the reasons for their conduct. He gave me these results of his inquiry : Seventy-five per cent refused to admit that they did not attend church. They did attend, not regularly, but very frequently. Of the remainder, a few said : We do not believe in these things. The most said : We are too tired ; we have no special interest ; we prefer to give our Sundays to rest and recreation.

I have been pastor of three churches. The first was composed largely of working people. It has not changed its character in more than twenty years, and has abundantly prospered. Many came into that church almost paupers, ignorant, rude, to find themselves straightway started on a path leading to improved social and industrial conditions. The first definite lessons I learned as to the relations between Christian morality and good industry, thrift and increasing competency, were learned amid those early pastoral experiences with mechanics, clerks, longshoremen and sewing-girls. The other two churches have had workingmen and their families in the congregations, and the majority of the members are people of limited means. The questions of dress, pew-rent,

* "Rep. of Senate Com.," vol. i, p. 1160.

benevolent contributions, never have troubled us. No poor man or woman has ever been elbowed or made to feel out of place. In the church, there has been brotherhood, no matter what social distinction may have existed outside the church. There may have been exceptional action on the part of individuals. But the whole spirit of the churches has been against such exceptional action. I have never known of a man who was asked to give beyond his ability, or who was not left to his own judgment as to the measure of his ability. I never knew social or financial status to be made directly or most remotely a test of membership or of good standing. Poor men and women have found warm welcome and Christian sympathy and kindly counsel and practical help. I have talked to audiences composed largely of working people, and I found it impossible, except in rare instances, to distinguish by dress workingmen and their families from business men and their families. And in these rare instances the disordered dress was not the badge of labor, but the sign of personal carelessness or slovenliness. And what is true of the churches I have had the honor to serve is, I am confident, true of the vast majority of churches. I do not know of a church from which the badge of honest labor will exclude a man. I do not know of a church, that does not open its doors, and that is not eagerly reaching out its hands to those who wear these badges.* To be sure, in large cities there are what are called the churches of the rich. This is a misfortune. A class church, whether of rich or poor, is so far as it is a class church something less than a Christian church. There is one reason, however, for the fact that so many churches are composed, mainly, of the well-to-do or rich, to which the workingmen ought to give good heed. "The Christian is temperate, is regular and frugal in his habits. Start such a man, or a community composed of such men, poor, and riches will be apt to be overtaken. Hence it is very natural that the wealth of the world after these centuries should belong to the Christian

* This is only my experience. A good many testimonies have reached me, which constrain to a sad modification of these statements. It is to be feared that there are too many churches where the Nazarene carpenter would receive anything but cordial welcome.

nations. Let Five Points, New York, become thoroughly Christian, and Murray Hill thoroughly wicked ; in a century the children's children of the two neighborhoods will have changed abodes." *

Far be it from me to relieve the Christian churches of all blame and to say that no responsibilities attach to them for any alienation that may exist among the working classes from the Gospel or from the church. There is blame. There is responsibility. The church is a human institution through which a divine life is working. That divine life conditions itself by the humanity through which it works. The ideal has never been reached. The finished product of which Christianity is capable has not yet appeared. In the name of religion crimes have been committed. In the garb of religion hypocrisies have been cloaked. With the stamp of religion base coin has had social circulation. Even when men have tried to do their duty there has been a tendency to lose sight of primal Christian principles, until some great crisis has aroused the church to a reassertion of principles, and to a reformation of conduct based upon these principles. The truths, and worships, and social forces of the church have not always succeeded in producing the noblest types of character. A religion of mere creed, or a religion of mere sentiment, has emasculated conscience and failed to hold the soul up to a life of steadfast righteousness of action, as under the eye and according to the will of God. The Gospel of Christ has been often faultily conceived and faultily presented by its commissioned teachers. And even when truth has been preached—not as a scheme of mere life-insurance, but as the Divine power for such redeemed character as should find in personal salvation only the means for pouring itself out in service for the good of others—even then the truth has fallen on trodden wayside to be devoured by birds, or on rock to be sun-dried, or among thorns that have choked its growth, and only some of it has found lodgment in good soil, and brought forth fruit. What wonder if there have been men in the churches who, in spite of the gospel of love, have grown great in their selfish-

* "The Gospel and the Poor in our Cities," art., "Homiletic Monthly," December, 1883, p. 168.

ness ; and who, in spite of the gospel of service, have become cruel in their tyrannies ; and who, in spite of the gospel of brotherhood, have by some word, or deed, or sneer of brutal scorn, blindly mistaken as representing the spirit of the church, turned away the poor man, wounded in his just pride of humanity, often from the sanctuary and sometimes from Christ ! If all in the church who are leaders in the world's affairs had so gained and used wealth and social influence as many have gained and used them, the false Socialism of our modern time could have had neither an origin nor an argument. The churches are not wholly blameless.

And the churches have yet to learn more clearly and to practice more consistently the lessons which the gospel teaches. They have yet to learn what large meanings are in the words manhood, brotherhood, society. They have yet to learn the significance of the phrases, "the kingdom of God," "a redeemed humanity," a "city of God," a divine communism "come down from God out of heaven." They have yet to learn what winsome power there is in the gracious smile, the kindly word, the fraternal hand-grasp, the many nameless ways of Christlike courtesy offered to the most ill-clad and crusty stranger who enters their sanctuary. They have yet to learn the evangelistic power there is in a just and true character, and in a serviceable, honorable, noble life. They have yet to learn far more thoroughly than they have ever learned that the gospel is for man as a citizen of this world ; that it is not a peeping, muttering, self-circumscribed thing, with all thin and vague sentimentalities, wasting itself in vapid emotions, but that it is a robust and vital thing, grandly heroic, full of strong passions, and destined to shape characters large with all righteousness. They have yet to learn the meaning of their own Lord's Prayer : "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." "Thy will be done on earth" ; not in the sanctuary alone, but in the family, on the farm, in the workshop, the mine, the market, the counting-room, in honest work, and equitable division of profits, in buying and selling, in the lawyer's office and the editor's sanctum, in cabinets, and congresses, and legislatures, and court-rooms ! "Thy will be done on earth" ; as deeds of righteousness, justice, charity, sacrifice, and service are done ! The churches must

learn that to be a Christian anywhere, one must be a Christian everywhere. And they must believe, and teach, and act the truth, that this great social order, with its intellectual activities, its industrial agencies, its material wealth, is an order for God's world ; and that if the devil has usurped control of vast acres in this order and turned them into fields of unjust disorder, it is the work of Christian men to drive the usurper out and win God's order back again. There is a robust, business-like, work-day manliness in Christ's gospel. And the churches must throw off all traces of a monastic, etherealized pietism, and come back to the large, strong manliness of Jesus Christ.

And yet, all drawbacks and exceptions aside, the churches of Jesus Christ have been the strongest force in the production of whatever is best and worthiest in our modern civilization. Again, no exclusive claim is made. It is not forgotten that what has called itself the church has often, in history, been against Christ, freedom, humanity, progress. It is not forgotten that Christianity is diffusive, and that the rains of heaven are stored for man's use in other reservoirs than the central ones. But it is true that the people, who have given Christian force to other agencies for social order and progress, have been, on the whole, identified with the religious life and worship of Christian churches. And what has Christianity, conveyed through the channels of the church into all departments of social action, done for society ? What good thing has it not done ? What has it not done for the workman and his class ? It has abolished slavery, emancipated childhood, uplifted womanhood. It has fought all battles for human freedom and the rights of man. Infidelity and false philosophies have borrowed its standards, its weapons, and its watchwords. All that distinguishes the workingman of America and Europe from the Chinese coolie, the Hindoo pariah, the Egyptian fellah, and the *prolétaire* of ancient Rome is due to Christianity.* Christianity has been the mother of science, the nurse of art, the promoter of invention. In the report of the French Commission on the World's Exposition of 1851 we read : "The exhibition has demonstrated to the whole world what the manufacturers and shippers knew, viz., that industry "

* "Gesta Christi," Charles Loring Brace.

—the great industry of steam and electricity, which defy time and space—"does not exist except in Christian lands."* Nothing but Christianity asserts clearly the brotherhood of man and puts on an enduring foundation the relation of all men to the Father God, revealed in the divine human Sonship of Jesus Christ. Let me quote the words of an English essayist: "His teaching that a service done to the least of His brethren is done to Him, and that one refused to the least of His brethren is refused to Him; that the love of men for each other is nothing but the poor sign and meager taint of that love of God for men which is destined to produce infinitely richer and better fruit; that it is the divine life which feeds the sense of human brotherhood; that unity in him is the only security for that true democracy, which is but a transformed theocracy formed on the inward and intense type to which Christ gives us the key—this teaching it is which is the fountain-head of the gospel of fraternity, and which alone ennobles and justifies it."† Workingmen, brothers of the workingman, Jesus Christ! Here, in Christianity alone, is the charter of your freedom and the guarantee of your rights.

If there is a book in all literature which the workman may claim as his own it is the Bible. As no other book it is God's Book. But it is humanity's Book. It is especially the workingman's Book. Here the son of a brickmaking slave inscribes his laws. Here the shepherd David sings his songs. Here the herdsman Amos utters his prophecy. Here Peter and John, the fishermen, and Paul, the tent-maker, preach and write. Here, above all else, are the wondrous words and the story of the life and death, for humanity, of the carpenter of Nazareth. Nowhere, as in this Book, is the dignity of labor and the manly independence of honest work so clearly set forth. Yet this is the Church's Book. Its truths are the truths she teaches. Its words are the vehicle of her prayers and the inspiration of her songs. By it she appeals to men's consciences for highest integrity of conduct. Its pages she scatters broad-

* Quoted from "The Christ," by Ernest Naville. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1880, p. 51.

† "Essays Theological and Literary," by Richard Holt Hutton. London: Daldy, Isbister & Co., 1877, p. xxix.

cast on the world, true leaves from the tree of life that are for the healing of the nations. Her Book is your Book, and you and the Church ought to stand in the harmony of a common interest and ownership.

It is Christianity that has promoted the growth of those individual and corporate enterprises which have brought to the workingman such increased share in the common good of advancing civilization as he to-day enjoys. Wherever men are found who recognize their responsibility for all righteous and humane uses of wealth, there, in the main, Christian consciences will be found. Wherever there are noble captains of industry, who exercise their prerogative of command as a trust for largest social service, there, in the main, will be found men who acknowledge the supreme captaincy of Jesus Christ. They who have promoted education, established hospitals, endowed free libraries in towns, cities, factories, promoted reforms in the construction of workingmen's homes, introduced kindness instead of brutality into prison discipline, fought against obscene literature, gambling, and all forms of vice and on behalf of humanity toward children and dumb animals, are, ninety-nine per cent of them, men and women who are either themselves Christians and in active church life, or they in whose veins flows the blood and about whose youth have clustered the influences of a Christ-inspired and church-trained ancestry.

What but the gospel, the gospel which the Bible and the church proclaim to humanity, has any proffer of hope or help for men who are down, and who are struggling to rise? What have naturalism or materialism to say to those who are weak, who are encumbered by evil heritage or unfavorable surroundings? What have Strauss, or Darwin, or Spencer to tell them but that the strongest survive; that might makes right; that natural laws must be allowed to work unhindered; that *laissez faire* is the only true principle for the guidance of personal and social action; that "in this enormous machine of the universe, amid the incessant whirl and hiss of its jagged iron wheels, amid the deafening crash of its ponderous stamps and hammers, man finds himself placed helpless and defenseless, not secure for a moment, that on some unforeseen motion a wheel may not seize and rend him, or a hammer crush him

to powder?"* Such a gospel! Where is its good news? Where is its hand to lift men? Yet this is the message of materialism, of all Atheistic Socialism to the workingman. "It is impossible to understand," said Laveleye, "by what strange blindness Socialists adopt Darwinian theories, which condemn their claims of equality, while at the same time they reject Christianity, whence these claims have issued and whence their justification may be found."† The gospel alone brings hope. It says to the weakest, poorest, obscurest man, you are a man, God's child, Christ's brother! Look up! Rise up! All Divine forces are with you! Workingman, one of the people, where will you find a voice that so speaks to man as man, as the voice of Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Man, the Son of God, the people's friend, the one being foretold in prophecy and revealed in history, as set to be "the leader and commander of the people"?

It is this Christ and His gospel that the churches are bringing to the people. Yes, to the people! Never in modern times has this statement been truer than it is to-day. The church for the rich! It is a slander contradicted by facts. The church is for men. Sanctuary doors can not stand open more widely. The Gospel has never, since its birth century, been carried more earnestly into the homes and hearts and lives of the people. There is much to be done; much that may be done in better ways. But the church is learning. Her views of the commission of her Lord are broadening. She is honestly trying to do her Master's work, in having God's will done on earth even as it is done in heaven.

In accomplishing her mission, the church asks the confidence, the sympathy, the co-operation of workingmen—the people. She asks no man's patronage. She will cater to no man's prejudices or preconceptions. She is too much assured of the divineness of her calling, and of the greatness of the spiritual graces and the social forces she holds in trust for humanity, to allow her to be the partisan of any social class. She can not assert and defend the claims of workingmen as such, or the claims of rich men as such. She can and will

* Strauss, "The Old Faith and the New."

† Laveleye's "Socialism," p. 20.

assert, in the name of God and humanity, the righteous claims and the righteous duties of all men as men, the brothers of her Lord. In her public teachings every man's complaint shall have a hearing, every man's difficulties fair consideration, every man's needs the supply, and his sorrows the solace of the Gospel. The economic solution of the relation between capital and labor will be found when men regard themselves no longer as capitalists or laborers, but as men ; each man, under the golden law of Christ, using his capital or his labor for the rendering of equal and exact justice to each other man.

Workingmen ! You need the church ; not alone for the sake of your souls ; nor alone for the sake of that sweet light that comes from Heaven to cheer you in your hours of darkness and bereavement. Because best morality is best industry and best social progress ; because best morality is Christian morality ; because Christian morality is not moral principle only, but a force of spiritual motive, and the inward power of a spiritual life ; because morality divorced from religion is cold expediency, and religion divorced from morality is fruitless superstition ; because best morality involves the supreme sanctions of the righteousness of God, the eternal lawgiver and Father, and the supreme constraints of the cross and the love of the redeeming Christ ; because the weight of these sanctions and the power of these constraints are best fostered not merely by daily practice of righteousness, but by this practice united with the worships and teachings and fellowships of the Christian sanctuary, where the powers of the world to come put their ennobling impulses into all the channels of our daily toil ; therefore, for the sake of best industry you need the church.

Nothing can take the place of the church, or do for you the work that it can do—not lodges, fraternities, orders, clubs. You may have these. You have a right to these for social, business ends ; even for partisan and class ends. You may learn through these morality and brotherhood, yet not the highest morality nor the largest brotherhood. Class brotherhood, whether in exclusive rich churches, or in labor unions, is not the broad, fair, universal brotherhood taught by Christ. Society is more than a class. The body is larger than the

head or hand or any member. Lawyers always consorting with lawyers, preachers with preachers, members of any trade or profession always consorting together, are of necessity men narrowed and so far degraded. A trades-union may develop the spirit of brotherhood ; beautiful as far as it goes, but class brotherhood after all, and so, in the highest sense, neither social, nor human, nor Christian. Not in mere consort with men of your own rank, not alone by consort with men of other ranks in the activities of life, not alone by consort of employers with employed at council boards of arbitration, will men learn so well the dear Christ-lesson of brotherhood as in the Christian sanctuary, where, with common wants and common aspirations, joining in common praise and prayer to a common Father, rich and poor meet together in the presence of the Lord, who is the Maker of them all.

You need the church. You need a particular church. Some sanctuary ought to be your spiritual home, and with loving reverence you ought to frequent its courts. I know that some workingmen are suspicious of the church. I know that some are doubtful of the good intentions of any Christian pastor who seeks to touch the problems of their lives, unless he will consent to be a partisan and a demagogue, the sort of man that no fair-minded, honest pastor can ever be. But these do not understand us. They do not know the earnest, prayerful, pained longing of the hearts, that by as much as they have the spirit of Christ are yearning to do them good. They do not know from what vantage-ground we study their lives and seek to impart to them the personal powers and the social forces that have thus far molded history, and that will bring to large, safe issues in the future the conflicts of the hour. Workingmen, repel not the hands that for loving service would grasp and hold your own. For the sake of society, civilization, progress, industry, lives every way bettered in condition, your own souls and the souls of your children, do not regard the churches of Christ with contempt, indifference, alienation, neglect. I speak for myself and my people, for many of my brother pastors and their flocks, when I declare to you that the doors of our sanctuaries are open to you ; that what courtesy we can show, what sympathy we can give, what instruction we can offer, what comfort, and peace,

and inspiration for all worthy living we can furnish in the Gospel—all are at your disposal. They are not ours, but our Master's. In His name we offer them. In humanity's name, accept and use them. Come in your working garb, if you have no other. Come to forget your scant clothing in the thought of Christ, and to lose for the hour the sense of all sorrow and wrong in the presence of His great love. Come to feel our hearts and His, and to learn the lesson of brotherhood at His feet.

CHAPTER XIV.

A SURVEY OF THE FIELD : REVIEW AND OUTLOOK.

“ The power that broke their prison-bar
And set the dusky millions free,
And welded in the flame of war
The Union fast to Liberty,
Shall it not deal with other ills,
Redress the red man’s grievance, break
The Cireean cup which shames and kills,
And Labor full requital make?
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Give every child his right of school,
Merge private greed in public good,
And spare a treasury overfull
The tax upon a poor man’s food? ”— *Whittier*.

It was a wild night in winter. I sat before a glowing grate, thinking of the multitude of people who were cold and hungry. Up into the study came a weird and awful wail ; a wail of anger too ; a sound of mingled hopelessness and hate, the discordant music swept by fierce heart-passion from the untuned or broken strings of a wounded life. The wail came in the shape of a letter. The letter told of a struggle, baffled and in vain. It voiced the anguish not of one unfortunate alone, but of thousands—those for whom society seems to have little need and less care ; the broken-down merchants, the lawyers, physicians, preachers, musicians, who are not wanted ; who are told with that wicked waste we make of some of our best resources, you are too old ; who can get nothing to do that they are able to do ; who have sunk like broken bubbles beneath the waves of social knowledge and help, and who shiver and starve in the depths and the darkness. As deep

calling unto deep sounded out that awful wail, seeming to mingle with the wind that dashed the snow-flakes against the windows, and to whirl fiercely upon my ear the mocking refrain of distrust, "Where is now thy God?" Yet at last, above all the noises of the storm and the cries of wrecked or struggling men, came the words of one over whom water-spouts had broken and who had fed day and night on tears, "Why cast down? Why disquieted? Hope in God!" Here on the fact, that at the heart of all discords is the eternal harmony, the righteous God, we take our stand and rest. For here all noblest, truest men have stood—the reformers, martyrs, heroes of the ages. Here have stood the Isaiahs, Pauls, Wycliffes, Savonarolas, Luthers of the church, the Galileos, Newtons, Agassizs of science, the Cromwells, Washingtons, Clarksons, Garrisons, Lincolns of the State; their enthusiasm fanned, their patience rendered inexhaustible by this eternal fact, God.

"Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes—they were souls that stood alone
While the men they agonized for hurled the contumelious stone,
Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam incline
To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith divine,
By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's supreme design."*

They stood alone, but they stood with God, believing that whatever things are right, and true, and just, shall be at last, because God is right, and true, and just; and that because God is and rules, all the stars in their courses fight for right, and truth, and justice, against the blind and warring hosts on all earth's battle-fields. With any adequate knowledge of existing social facts, only the thought of God can give faith in the present or hope for the future. Only as we can discover where God and the eternal principles of his justice are, can we discern where the real right and the lines of our duty are, and can, with the courage of divine conviction, "dare to take the side that seems wrong to man's blindfold eye."

It has been a long and tortuous path we have traversed together—a path filled with rocks and thorns, with precipices and narrow defiles, and rugged ascents of difficulty and dan-

* "The Present Crisis," James Russell Lowell.

ger. There have been difficulties in the very nature of the questions considered. Economic problems are not easy even of intellectual solution. Economic principles are not all capable of brief and simple statement. The problems are intricate. The principles are many-sided. They must be looked under and over, and around and through. They must be stated with conditions, exceptions, modifications. The area to be traversed is vast. The relations of all social facts, the one to the other, are far-reaching. We have only entered the edge of the thicket. We have only blazed a few prominent trees, indicating the direction one must follow to come at last upon open country and clear skies. There are grave problems lying close to the central ones, questions such as land tenure, banking, coinage, tariffs, that have not been touched.

There have been difficulties in the relation of the questions discussed to the supposed personal interests of all social classes. The pocket is a very sensitive place for most people ; whether the pocket be a full or an empty one. And a sensitive pocket easily spares a piece of its inclosing cloth to be twisted into a blindfolding bandage for intelligence, judgment, heart, conscience, while the eye of supposed self-interest is wide open and watchful. Labor is sensitive, lest all its asserted principles should not be fully declared, and lest all its claimed rights should not be clearly recognized. Capital is sensitive, lest its "vested interests" should not be amply conserved. Care has been taken, as far as the limitations of time and strength and natural capacity would admit, to get at truth of facts, to comprehend truth of principle, and to secure truth of statement. Care has been taken, not to gratify any class or to pander to any interest, but only to satisfy an intelligence seeking truth, and a conscience striving to meet its supreme accountability to God, and then, by manifestation of the truth, to commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

Look back, then, for a moment, over this rock-strewn, thorn-beset path we have traversed together. We have seen Socialism of various types springing from an abstract philosophy, and growing into a concrete danger. We have tracked the lines of its history ; listened to the terrible indictment with which it assails modern civilization ; heard the revolutionary demands which it seeks to enforce upon society as the

only just and possible remedy for existing ills. Full credit has been given to the honest intent, the humaneness, the moral seriousness of the average Socialist. It was from the historic and economic points of view, rather than from a merely moral one, that we ventured to criticise him. I wholly dissent from the common estimate of the man's motives. I can not for a moment agree with the words of an able reviewer, who, classing all revolutionary Socialisms under the name of Communism, says: "The average Communist has not one picayune's worth of interest in the State as such. Communism is a wholesome name, which he prostitutes to cloak a dirty ambition. All the talk about the corporate rights of society is so much ruse to divert attention from his tricky and rascally attempt to make the general weal pay taxes to his own individual advantage. From beginning to end it is with him a matter of public pap."* I do not believe that. That may be true of some Socialists. That is true as regards the practical results of Socialism.† But that is not true as to the moral intent of the Socialist.

I have tried to make careful discrimination between Socialism and the larger and more wholesome movement on behalf of improved conditions of labor. These movements have some things in common, but they are totally distinct. Socialist agitation has done harm to the labor movement. It has done harm by causing fright. It has done harm by its very advocacy of labor principles, causing it to be classed by many minds as identical with these principles. But you must not hurt a good cause by branding it with a name which its trusted leaders and the vast hosts of its trusty followers repudiate. Ignorant workmen are indeed mellow soil for nurturing Socialist seed. But the great majority of intelligent workmen are not Socialists. And the leading labor organizations, while Socialists are in their ranks, reject and condemn Socialist principles, and contest their spread.

* C. H. Parkhurst, in "New Princeton Review," January, 1886, p. 38.

† This applies, of course, only to Anarchist or State Socialism, as treated in chapters ii, iv, v, and vi. It does not apply to the large number of people who believe that society is more than the individual; to men like the Apostle Paul, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes.

We have seen the errors of the Socialist's indictment ; the economic fallacies on which it builds its philosophy ; and the exaggeration of social conditions with which it fires its own enthusiasm and makes its social appeal. We have seen how inadequate are its fundamental demands to remedy the real evils that exist in society. Socialism clamors for progress, but it cuts the very social sinews by whose movement progress is possible.

We have seen, too, some truths in Socialism. It has a message for us. Balaam though on the whole we may regard it, it has a voice of prophecy that, under all its errors, may be the voice of God. Society is more than the individual. Social rights are higher than personal rights. "Private claims are founded in public sufferance." When individual rights, whose maintenance society has asserted, as by the verdict of all history essential to its own best interests, are so asserted as to become social wrong and harm, then by every principle of the Gospel of Christ, and by every law of the Kingdom of God, social rights are dominant over private ones, and private rights must give way.

We have studied the rise and growth of the organization of labor ; the spread of the principle of co-operation in distributive, productive and profit-sharing forms ; the need, the functions and the duties of industrial captains ; the responsibilities of wealth for largest social service ; and the place of highest morality in all industrial action and its productive results. While we have been discussing these matters the history of the social problem has been in process of rapid formation. New facts have constantly appeared ; new phases of movement have been daily presented ; changes in lines of battle have been taking place. One needs the eyes of Argus to keep all parts of the field clearly in view. Here a picket skirmish, there a cavalry charge, yonder an artillery duel. While more and more, through smoke and noise and mutual recrimination, flags of truce are flying, the harbingers of armistice and arbitration, and, let us hope, of peace.

Looking at this field, so full of stir and complication, looking at it in such light of ascertained principles as these discussions may be able to cast upon it, what are the indications which may well make us downcast and disquieted, if these be

all that is visible? What also, if any, are the signs of God's presence which may reinspire courage and quicken hope?

As to dangers. On the one hand it is to be feared that the feudal spirit is not quite dead. There are men, too many of them, in whom individualism has gone to seed, and in whom the new crop of conduct springing from that seed is anything but wholesome. They do not seem aware that within fifty years there has been a revolution in industry; that the relations which existed, and the methods in vogue, and the traditions of a thousand years, as to personal prerogative and private interest, still alive when they or their fathers began business, are not now alive, but dead and of the past. Surliness, a standing upon abstract right and dignity on the part of some employers are dangers. According to the testimony of many of our best economists, numerous strikes have been due to a want of tact on the part of the master, and sometimes to his total lack of gentlemanly and humane instincts.* Men are not willing in these days to be treated as if they were machines or brutes. A master may say: I refuse to be interfered with; I will manage my business for myself; I will command in my own affairs. Well, he ought to command; but as a man over men, not as a man over machines; as a captain in rank over equals in right, not as a tyrant over slaves. Workmen affirm that many a strike is inaugurated and continued, resulting in waste of capital and loss of wages, not chiefly out of regard to increase of wages, but because of the brutal way in which their demands were treated. A master may shut down his works, lock up his factory, turn his workmen adrift to find other employment or to starve. No human law can hinder him. A jackass may be harnessed with a blooded colt—sixteenth-century feudalism of mastership with nineteenth-century democracy of labor. No external law can hinder the jackass from refusing to pull, because he dislikes the upstart antics of the colt; nor from kicking to pieces the cart and

* Strikes are often instigated by employers for selfish purposes; to discredit organized labor, to increase demand for goods on hand, to weaken a rival, to secure the destruction by rioters of worn-out buildings and machinery, in order that these may be replaced at the expense of the public. See p. 120, note.

wasting his yoke-fellow's fodder, and his own. But it is questionable whether such behavior is good morals or even good policy—behavior such as conduces to the safe and sure progress of the social cart. The patriarchal age, the slave-owning age, the feudal age of industry are gone. No sentimental dreamings, no fond clinging to traditional methods and relations can give them a resurrection. Captains of industry, who stand on their prerogatives ; who refuse to reason, to consult, to conciliate ; who regard their business as entirely an affair of private ownership, and its management as solely a matter for their private determination, rather than as, in some real way, a social partnership in which the other partners have a claim to at least some voice—these are obstructives, dangers, moral dynamiters. They foster discontent, prolong strife, promote hatred, hinder amicable adjustment, misrepresent the more humane and just spirit of the employing classes, and prevent that spirit from fully asserting itself.

On the other hand, there is danger that workmen will be rash and headstrong ; going faster in right directions than the conditions of social safety will admit ; going blindly in wrong directions, in defiance of all economic principles and of all historic precedents. Great numbers of strikes occur for reasons most trivial ; many in assertion of supposed rights that have no human or economic foundation. There is danger that workmen, flushed with temporary victory, will mistake that for the presage of final triumph, and will risk the fruits of victory by unwise use of their advantage. There is danger that just assertion of the rights of partnership in industry will degenerate into a meddlesomeness that offends and irritates, and that drives to lockouts and to a withdrawal of capital and managing capacity from active enterprise. In the eager pursuit of justice to be done to them there is danger that workmen will forget the duty of justice to be done by them. No wrong rights a wrong. No injustice promotes justice. The workman's rights and his righteousness rise or fall, triumph or fail together.

There is danger that the workman may mistake the tokens of his employer's kindly feeling for signs of weakness and cowardice ; that he may fail to respond to these, as he ought to respond to them, by reciprocal good-will ; that he may mis-

interpret the meaning of all the sanitary, educational, humanizing endeavors of employers as being a merely charitable concession to the unfortunate, and a money-saving substitute for a fairer division of products. No wonder some employers are discouraged, and many hesitate as to any movement for the benefit of their workmen, when their righteous deeds are often flung back in their faces with the sneer, "We want justice, not charity!" Ay, justice, not mere charity is wanted.* But I can never believe that the Salts, the Krupps, the Godins of the Old World, or the Childses, the Chenneys, the Hazards of the New, are mere charity-mongers who, forgetting justice, are doling back to their workmen in libraries, schools, hospitals, pensions, houses, a few pence of the pounds unjustly stolen from wages. I do not believe that charity and justice, either in God's character or man's action, lie any further apart than the arteries and veins that receive and give back the blood of the one central, vitalizing heart of love. Nay, it is these so-called charity-mongers who are your most just and successful commanders. It is they out of whose ranks your profit-sharing experimenters have come. It is they and such like men who will lead in the reconstructed industrial order of the future. There is danger if the workman acts upon any misunderstanding of these principles. There is danger lest he fail to see that every rash and needless strike is a destruction of his own capital, and of so much possibility of capital as by co-operation might transfer him the sooner from the rank of a mere wage-worker to that of a capitalist-worker.

There is danger from the ignorance of too many workmen. Do not misunderstand. Ignorance is used as no term of contempt. God forbid that any term of contempt should be possible! It is not forgotten that many of these workmen are just emerging from beneath the cruel wrongs of ages. It is not forgotten that ignorance is no more blinding to the work-

* "We think of the poor in the way of charity, for to deal out charity gratifies not only benevolence but pride; we think much of them in the way of charity, but we think little of them in the way of justice. Justice, however, ranks before charity, and they would need less charity if they had more justice."—An "Essay on the Free Examination of the Laws of England," by Leman Thomas Rede.

man than is educated selfishness and traditional pride of mastership blinding to the employer. But workmen themselves will concede the large ignorance existing among the workers. And ignorance is danger. Ignorance, especially on the line of one's supposed self-interest, becomes the easy dupe of demagogues. Ignorance is likely to be suspicious, headstrong, rash, impatient, irrational, and to count immediate gain more desirable than promised boon. I have confidence in the wisdom, conservatism, far-sightedness, and broad social aims of many of the leaders of labor. Yet none know better than they the inflammable character of much of the material with which they have to deal.

There is danger that some workmen may forget that, strong as is organized labor as against organized capital, there is a larger public opinion that is stronger than either. Numerical majorities, even, can not settle moral and social issues. The intelligence in the workmen's ranks, and the intelligence outside of the ranks of either technical capital or technical labor, must be in harmonious accord if the just rights of labor are to have guaranteed recognition. It is a most short-sighted and dangerous policy for workmen to oppose, or alienate, or fail to measure the necessary value of this larger public opinion.*

Then, too, the political aspects of our country are not a little

* The history of the strikes on the Gould railway system, of the May strikes for eight hours, and the various industrial disorders, Chicago anarchism and all the rest, have too largely turned many of the above statements into prophecies fulfilled. The cause of labor has been badly hurt. Public opinion, favorable to many of the just claims of labor, has been alienated. Too many ill-judging people identify the blunders made by the advocates of a cause with the cause itself. The demand for discrimination and a careful study of principles is greater now than it ever was. I have not yet ceased to hope that the second, sober thought of both employers and workmen will promote measures which will conserve the welfare of both. The triumph of righteousness ought to be the aim of all good men. The disintegration of the Knights of Labor, either by internal dissensions or by external hostility, would be a social misfortune. They have many things to learn. But, abuse heaped upon them will not instruct them. I, for one, am not ready to withdraw from them an indorsement of the general correctness of their principles, or faith in the conservative spirit of their now recognized leaders. But they ought to heed the lessons of the last few months. See article, "A Word of Sympathy and Caution," "Century Magazine," June, 1886, p. 319.

discouraging. Social, industrial, political interests and affairs are so essentially intermingled that unsoundness anywhere means unsoundness everywhere. Political reform must go hand in hand with industrial reform. The enlarged functions to be committed to the State, with due regard to the conserving of private right and the best promotion of personal action, for which modern economists are pleading, can not, with popular consent, be assumed by the State until the State does more wisely and economically, and for higher social welfare, what it already has to do. Political reform, from caucus to Congress and Cabinet, is a very urgent need. And a large Hercules, with a large broom, would find his task of cleansing quite a discouraging one, even should he begin it not many miles from our own doors.

But let us turn to the more hopeful outlook. Is there such an outlook? Are there tokens, on the wild field of strife, of approaching peace? Are there voices that bid us believe that God is on the field, even when he is most invisible? There are such signs, tokens, voices. The fact of the organization of labor is such a sign. For labor disorganized was labor hopeless. Labor disorganized was labor inviting oppression and tempting injustice, and so bringing degradation alike to oppressor and oppressed. Machinery, division of labor, enterprises on extending scale, exchanges and boards of trade, the era of Democracy, all demanded labor exchanges, boards of labor, organization of labor, the dealing of labor with capital on equal terms; or else the Helotizing, the re-enslaving of labor was inevitable. Organization means for labor what union meant for the American colonies—warfare for a while, but in the end prosperity and peace. Organization of labor means the education of laborers. It means increasing morality, technical training, better work. It means strikes, indeed, but strikes decreasing in number and refraining from violence. It means a firm battle-front for its own conception of justice. But it does not mean Socialism or revolution.

Capital is organizing; that, too, is a sign for good. For disorganized capital means isolation, increasing selfishness, cut-throat competition, ruinous to wholesome industry. These manufacturers' associations mean the sense of brotherhood and common class interest in which capital has been hitherto

lacking. Out of this class brotherhood may grow a larger human brotherhood. Organized capital means a firm battle-front for the just rights of capital, as against organized labor. It ought to mean that. It will thus learn an increased respect for the opposing battle-line. It will learn increased honorable chivalry of warfare and treatment. But organized capital means more than this. It means a more scientific employment of the forces of production ; and overstocked or understocked markets becoming more and more impossible. It means that nineteenth-century captains of industry will, in their club-rooms, have opportunity for pushing the gospel of righteousness and fairness, and manliness and common sense, and highest economic self-interest, into the dull heads and the obtuse consciences of sixteenth-century feudalist captains of industry. It means enlarged opportunity for promoting arbitration and conciliation, and the recognition of workmen and workmen's associations as equals. It means opportunity for the study and practical promotion of wise schemes of profit-sharing and co-operation and sliding scales of wages. It means a cry to the workman to move cautiously, and not to endanger his own cause, and all social weal, by unjustifiable demands, by petty meddlesomeness, by rashness and recklessness. It means a call to employer and employed to look into each other's faces, feel each other's hearts, know each other's thoughts, listen patiently to each other's tale of wrong, respect each other's rights, put each himself in the other's place, and to learn that shoulder-straps or plain blue blouses are but accidental endowments that may easily change places, temporal disguisings of the common and immortal humanity that each in the other may discern.

This double battle-line of capital and labor, in intelligent and manly and honorable conflict, implies the victory of both, and so the attainment of the greatest social good. The supreme triumph of capital over labor would be the restoration of the ancient *régime*, prolonged misery to labor, and the dehumanizing of capital. The supreme triumph of labor over capital would be French Revolution horrors for capital, the demonization of labor, and Napoleonic absolutism as the final outcome. Capital and labor, well matched in strength and organization, alike controlled by intelligence and Christian

morality, will relieve, by arbitration, their warfare of its terrors and its disasters ; will see the mutual path where justice lies ; will promote industrial partnerships and co-operations ; and, under the leadings of God's providence and truth, will construct, within the limits of the present social order, the Christian, democratic commonwealth, wherein each factor in production, in personal competence, and in sharing the general well-being, may receive the just reward of his toil.

To this happy consummation many signs are pointing. Not the least significant sign is the fact that so many are thinking, reading, talking about these problems. The thought is not all wise, the talk not all sensible. But any sort of thinking is better than mental stagnation, any sort of talk more promising than stolid indifference. Christian teachers and Christian churches are taking up these questions.* The Chicago pastors invited a Socialist of the extremest type to present to them his views. The evangelical clergy of Boston were addressed on the labor question by a pastor and a Knight of Labor. The Episcopal Church Congress, the Baptist Autumnal Conference, the Congress of Churches, and the Andover Alumni Association have discussed these matters in their sessions. Many of the Episcopal clergy are far in advance of their brethren of other Christian churches, both in their well-informed intelligence and the boldness of their utterances. Pastors of wealthy churches, as Dr. Howard Crosby and Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, of New York, are stirring the consciences of their parishioners with gospel ethics of trade and gospel principles for a true social order, that but a while ago would have been deemed most fanatical and revolutionary. The world moves, and God is in its movement.

Another token of hope is the increased interest in the careful study of economical principles and problems. Not only is political economy studied more widely, but also more wisely. It is basing its principles on ascertained facts, and not torturing its facts to fit its principles. It is coming to clearer recog-

* "Century Magazine," May, 1886, p. 163.

"The Labor Problem: Plain Questions and Practical Answers." Edited by W. E. Barnes, New York, 1886.

"Public Opinion," May 8, 1886, p. 67.

"The Clergy and the Labor Question." "New Prin. Rev.," vol. ii, p. 48.

dition of the truth that human action in work, as well as in worship, is moral action, and that ethics and economics have an essential relation. One of the signs of the times is the formation, at Saratoga, in September, 1885, of the American Economic Association.* The object of this association is to investigate economic problems, and to diffuse economic knowledge. Students, professors, financiers, business men, are in its membership. It is capable of large usefulness. There are many economic problems yet unsolved. They will not be solved by mass-meetings. No employer or workman may dogmatize about them except at grave social peril. The final word has not been spoken concerning them, either by manufacturers' associations or in the resolves of labor-unions. A lockout or a strike, based upon their absolute certainty, is the height of madness. Only patient and prolonged investigation, and the contributed light of many minds, flashing forth increasing light by the friction and the concentration of the various rays, can solve these problems. Every business man ought to have a copy of the constitution of this association, and seek, at least by his membership, to further its aims. The Knights of Labor would do well to secure for their District Master Workmen admission to its ranks. Manufacturers' clubs would confer benefit upon themselves, and the industrial interests they represent, by offering, through this association, prizes for the best papers on some yet unsolved economic problem.

Another token of hope is the increase of State bureaus of statistics of trade and labor. Light is helpful to everybody; only darkness harms. The day has gone by for star-chamber proceedings in industry. To be sure, men shrink from inquiries as to their business matters. But there are some things which, for the sake of large public interests that override private rights, the public have a right to know concerning all the business, whose only warrant for existence is that it is for public service, even while it is for private gain. If information as to the relations of capital, and expenses, and profits will damage a man with his competitors, so much the worse

* Prof. Richard T. Ely, Secretary. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

for competition. When the information is furnished by all competitors, one has no advantage over another. If the giving of accurate information will affect a man's credit, he is sailing under false colors, and the sooner the ship is scuttled and sunk the better for society.* It would be to the advantage of employers to make some concessions willingly, rather than to be compelled to yield them. King John would have better won the respect and confidence of his barons, and shown himself a nobler king, had he conceded Magna Charta from his own instincts of justice, instead of waiting to have it wrung from him by force. Bureaus of labor are full of promise for all industry. They will promote intelligent action. They will tend to equalize production and consumption. They will reveal the conditions of trade. They will prevent excessive demand in one section of the labor market and excessive supply in another. The facts they furnish, the principles they promulgate, will sweep the cobwebs of economic fallacy and the dust of discontent from the minds of workmen, and will remove the cumbersome fossils of feudalism from the minds of employers.

Another token of hope is the increasing number of employers who seek to be just to their workmen and to promote their best welfare ; and in the increasing number of co-operative and profit-sharing enterprises. We are a slower people than we are willing to think. Europe is far ahead of us in these matters. But we are learning. Already we have many a garden-spot of industry. The day will come when our American Tangyes, and Perrys, and Mundellas,† our Boucicaults and Leclaires will not be the exceptions, but the rule. Co-operative production by workmen, and profit-sharing between employers and employed, will be the prevailing forms of future industrial organization.‡ In the name of justice, and humanity, and God, this is to be. Labor shall have, as now,

* The history of the Life-Insurance Companies of the State of New York, the opposition of the companies to the law establishing the office of Insurance Commissioner, and the present satisfaction of all the strong companies with the working of the Commission plan, is a case in point.

† "Social Studies in England," Sarah K. Bolton, pp. 155-166.

‡ "Century Magazine," May, 1886, p. 163.

"The Labor Problem: Plain Questions and Practical Answers."

its hire ; and capital, as now, its interest ; and management, as now, its recompense. But the acquired skill, the painstaking, the thrift in time, the watchfulness against waste, for which the market-price hire of labor does not pay, shall also have its reward. Competition will not be abolished. Just competition is an economic necessity.* It is a sound ethical principle. But to make and keep it just it must be balanced by co-operation. Even as a true self-interest, which is not selfishness, and a true self-sacrifice, which is not asceticism, nor a maudlin sentimentality, nor a hurtful philanthropy, must, by Christ's own command, conjoin in best moral life ; even as a true individualism and a true socialism must ever interact in the worthiest social order ; so just competition and wise co-operation must have reciprocal play in the most productive and serviceable industrial organization. The social cleavage of the future, whatever cleavage may be found in a close-knit brotherhood, will be, as Professor Jevons has declared, "not horizontal but perpendicular"; not between heads and hands, but between the conjoined heads and hands of one industrial enterprise, and the alike conjoined heads and hands of another industrial enterprise. Instead of as now, on one side, a host of mutinous soldiers contending with their leaders for the wages of work, and with each other for the privilege of work ; and on the other side a squad of captains contending fiercely with each other, and only uniting in contest against their mutinous soldiers, there shall be solid regiments, under respected and honored leaders, each striving with the rest in friendliest rivalry for the honor of bearing in advance the standards of noblest social service and of most widely diffused industrial prosperity. This is God's promise. Toward this end His providence, all true economic tendencies, all social ferments are surely working. There will be struggles, battles, wounds, waste. But God is just. Truth and right shall triumph, because God is true and righteous, and because His kingdom, so long prayed and toiled for, shall

* " Competition we now recognize to be a thing neither good nor bad ; we look upon it as resembling a great physical force, which can not be destroyed, but may be controlled and modified."—Toynbee's " Industrial Revolution," pp. 19, 20.

come at last, and His will in justice and love shall be done on earth. Looking out over the vast field, all murky with thick clouds of battle-smoke, and filled with many an occasion for downcasting and disquietude, we hope, because we hope and believe in God.

We hope, we bid each other be of good courage. Yet how much toil, anxiety, and disturbance have yet to be faced ! What intricate questions remain to be solved, what taxing tasks to be performed ! The school must scatter the mists of ignorance and loosen the shackles of inaptness and lack of skill. The State must purify its administration and assume larger tasks. It must prevent monopolies, and set some limits to the indefinite increase of personal wealth. It must hinder land-grabbing and non-resident landlordism, and the absorption of the public domain by large corporations. It must reconstruct on a sound basis of ethical economics the entire system of land-tenure. It must defend in the workshop, as well as on the street, the lives, health, safety, liberties of all its citizens. It must secure economical administration, and the equal and rational adjustment of the public burdens. It must discover some method of preventing the mean evasions, the dishonest subterfuges, the barefaced falsehoods and knaveries by which not a few rich men escape an equitable share of taxation. It must, in the interest of absolute justice, fence about the action "of the avaricious and the strong, even at the expense of technical justice."* It must not forget the lesson of history, that "when the oppressions of the rich, and the powerful, and the fortunate reach a certain point, the oppressed multitude turn, like hunted beasts at bay, and destroy both their oppressors and the social fabric."†

The church must preach the gospel more earnestly, live it more faithfully, and impress its facts and precepts upon the consciences and lives of men. Not education alone, not legislation alone, not wiser economics alone, not mutual concessions and adjustments of contending factions alone, not even all these together, but the gospel of the living God securing

* "The Freedom of Faith," by Theodore T. Munger. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1883, p. 188.

† Ibid.

personal faith in its Christ, and personal renewal by its Spirit, and the control of the personal conscience and conduct by the supreme motives, and sanctions, and principles of its divine and eternal ethics ; this gospel, pervading society with the powers of the world to come, dominating education, crystallized in legislation, inducing the wisest economic action because securing the highest moral action ;—this is the power, the only power for insuring a race of souls, a city and kingdom of humanity redeemed.

And under the impulses of this gospel we must all give ourselves to securing for ourselves, our community, the nation, the world—the practical realization of righteousness. Men must learn that God governs the universe, and that “penalty dogs sin,” whether the sin be personal or corporate. We must learn to set our individual and class interests aside as we study the problems that affect the general weal. We must learn that no bargain is an honest bargain, whether in paying or receiving wages, or in buying or selling goods, which does not involve mutual and equal advantage. We must learn that justice in business does not mean to get the most for the least or something for nothing, or to wring plunder out of men’s emergencies or gain out of their ignorance and weakness. We must learn to look, “each man not on his own things alone, but each man also on the things of others.”

We must learn that “the life is more than meat and the body than raiment.” While it is right for a man to get the most he can out of this world, and to desire the best outward conditions of life, yet this is not the chief end for which we are born into this world. Poverty is not a good. No man is asked to be content with it. But poverty is better than a mean spirit, or low aims, or unrighteous action. “Honor and shame from no condition rise.” A man may be poor, but he may think noblest thoughts, speak truest speech, have cleanest lips, lead most serviceable life, share the companionship of the wisest thinkers and the largest souls of all ages, entertain God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit as constant guests in the home of his heart, and be in all ways a worthier, larger, richer soul than any rich man who is empty of goodness and grovels in sin. If I had to change places with anybody, I

would rather, as a friend suggested, change places with old Epictetus, lame, and a slave, whipped and bruised, than to change places with Epictetus's master, the freedman and the sycophant of Nero.

We must learn that all labor that serves society is worthy of honor and due reward. We must give the honor and pay the reward. Degradation of labor ! Nay, laziness degrades. Willful idleness dishonors. Work unserviceable, socially hurtful, faithlessly, shabbily done, brings shame. Real labor, with brain or hand, with pen or pick, in counting-room or shop or ditch, is an ensign of social rank, a coronet of personal nobility. The true aristocracy is the aristocracy of socially serviceable work. And we must learn to be patient, to do our duty and to wait. "Haste makes waste." God's "increasing purpose widens with the process of the suns," but it never hurries, for all our pitiful impatience.

In this era of industrial revolution no easy task devolves upon the possessors of wealth and the captains of industry. They are called, not to clearer vision of their own prerogative, but to clearer vision of the principle of just action for themselves and all men. To guide public opinion safely through the whirlpool of social change, amid eddies of angry passion, and rocks of dying traditions and dead privileges, is a work that may well baffle their best human wisdom and dismay their stoutest hearts. But this is the crisis which shall test the sort of moral stuff that they and all of us are made of. Out in the broad plain of our modern civilization the Nebuchadnezzar of the hoary past has erected a golden image—no true, solid gold, but plate, and tinsel, and sham—the image of the Mammon god. Anon, the trumpets sound ; and, by the decree of the king of tradition and familiar habit, we are summoned to bow down and worship ! Worship that ! Or be true to justice, to humanity, and to the one and only Lord God, the Eternal Justice and the Father of humanity ! This is the testing-time, for rich and poor, for captains and soldiers ; the time for deciding whether with sleek conformity we will follow the ways of the easy-going devotees of Mammon, or whether, with a courage born of faith in God, we will endure the flames of self-denying service, in a furnace wherein the Son of God himself walks, and whence, without even the smell of fire on

our garments, we shall emerge into the God-honoring life of the new industrial era.

Here our discussions end. It has been their aim to arouse thought, to discover the places where justice dwells, and to indicate some of the lines along which may be found safe, because righteous, solution of our social problem. We have tried to induce kindlier spirit between those who differ ; to help men to feel the thrill of a common brotherhood, and to face these questions of difficulty as men rather than as classes. We have hoped to promote in the action of employers an increasing practical concern for the welfare and the rights of workmen ; and in the action of workmen an increasing faithfulness in work and a respectful regard for the good intentions and the rights of their employers. We have dealt chiefly with principles—with facts only as illustrating and enforcing principles. For principles govern the world and shape history. A principle wrought freedom for the American colonies. A principle sharpened the axe of the guillotine in the Place de la Concorde. A principle true, though grotesque and monstrous by perversion, is the power of Socialism. If I have awakened in the mind of any reader of these pages the conviction that justice must be done by him as employer or as workman, then he will seek the path of justice. And justice will be done, for God will show the path and help to walk in it.

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